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# THE ROYAL JOURNEY IN THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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## Abstract

The Assyrian king was a very busy person who had commitments in a number of different sectors: personal, political, military, and ritual. He had to be present not only in Assur, the capital of the kingdom, but also in other administrative centers in provinces—those within the Assyrian core, such as Nineveh and Arbail, as well as those in remote regions, even at the frontiers. In this article, we gather the attestations for royal journeys in the Middle Assyrian archival documentation. First, we list the attestations designating these royal travels and then discuss the terminology used. After that, we analyze the *modus operandi* of royal trips: who accompanied the king, which means of transport were used and how they were supplied. Finally, we discuss the implications of the royal arrivals in any given place and end with a summary.

## 1. Introduction

The Assyrian kings of the late second millennium BCE were very busy people with many duties, including personal, political, military, and cultic. They had to be present not only in Assur, the capital of the Assyrian state at that time, but also in other cities in the heart of the kingdom, such as Nineveh and Arbail, in the peripheral territories, and even on the frontiers as they sought to expand its territory in obedience “to the order of the god Aššur.”<sup>1</sup> Dozens of contemporary archival documents bear witness to these royal journeys.

Though it is well known among researchers that the Assyrian kings were frequent travellers, no comprehensive study of such royal journeys has been attempted to date.<sup>2</sup> Several scholars have published texts containing references to the Middle Assyrian royal journey, some of them in hand copies, others with full editions, but so far the

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1. Müller 1937: 12 ii 34–35 (coronation ritual) *i+na e-šar-te* <sup>GIS</sup>GIDRU-ka KUR-ka ra-piš, “Enlarge your country with your rightful scepter!”

2. In general, for travel in Mesopotamia see Streck 2006 and 2007. Specifically for the Mari period, Pappi 2012: 579–90. For the Neo-Assyrian period see Favaro 2007: 31–49.

attestations have not been gathered together with the purpose of extracting information about the Middle Assyrian royal travel.<sup>3</sup>

In this article, we will first collect and present the attestations for royal journeys from the Middle Assyrian archival documentation, ordered according to the terminology used. Second, we will analyse the terminology applied to refer to such royal travels with the aim of seeing the various purposes behind royal travels. Third, we will discuss the *modus operandi* of these journeys: who took part in them, how they were supplied and the means of transportation used to perform them. Fourth, we will study the results of these journeys in terms of their effects on the location visited by analyzing the extant documentation.

## 2. Attestations

This section presents a collection of the passages mentioning royal journeys in the archival documentation. Royal journeys are referred to using a variety of expressions.<sup>4</sup> In some cases, it is not self-evident whether an expression denotes a royal journey or a royal campaign, as suggested below (3.1 and 3.2). Therefore, and also for convenience, we will first arrange the attestations terminologically, according to the main word in the expression, and thereafter chronologically.

### A. The Verb *alāku*

Middle Assyrian royal journeys are primarily designated by expressions constructed with the verb *alāku* “to go”:<sup>5</sup>

1) *Tell Ali*, no 7: 10–11, 13–14. <sup>10</sup>ŠU.NÍGIN 8 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ <sup>11</sup>2 ‘SILA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ (...) <sup>13</sup>[ša i+n]a<sup>2</sup> URU<sup>14</sup>šu-ḫi-saḫ <sup>14</sup>i+na a-lak LUGAL e-pu-šu-ú-ni, “Total: eight rams (and) two lambs (...) [which] were sacrificed in the city of Šuḫisaḫ when the king went (there).” (ep. Ištar-ēriš, Shalmaneser 19th year?; the document mentions *naptan šarri*, “the king’s meal” in line 4, see section 4.3).

2) *Tell Ali*, no. 8: 22–23. <sup>22</sup>UDU.MEŠ an-nu-tu ša i+na <sup>23</sup>a-lak LUGAL i+na URU<sup>14</sup>šu-ḫi-saḫ ep-šu-ni, “These sheep are those which were sacrificed in the city of Šuḫisaḫ when the king went (there)” (no date, Shalmaneser 19th year?).

3) *Tell Ali*, no. 9: 1–5. <sup>1</sup>tup-pí 5 UDU zi-bu-tu.MEŠ <sup>2</sup>ša É.GAL-lim <sup>3</sup>ša i+na URU<sup>14</sup>túr-ša-an <sup>4</sup>i+na a-lak<sup>1</sup> LUGAL <sup>5</sup>i-ta-ku-lu, “Tablet of five fat-tailed sheep, belonging to the palace, which have been consumed in Turšan when the king goes (there)” (ep. Ina-pī-Aššur-lišlim, Shalmaneser 14th year?).

4) *Tell Ali*, no. 19: 10–12. <sup>10</sup>ša i-na UD-me LUGAL <sup>11</sup>a-na KUR ḫa-ni-gal-bat <sup>12</sup>i-li-ku-ú-ni <sup>13</sup>ù KUR ḫab-ri-ú-ri <sup>14</sup>ib-bal-ki-tu-ni, “(Wool received) which was at the time when the king went to Ḫanigalbat and the land of Ḫabriuri revolted” (ep. Aššur-nādin-šumē, Shalmaneser 8th year?).

5) DeZ 4022: 9–11. i+na UD-um LUGAL a-[na] URUBÀD-<sup>d</sup>IM i-li-ku-ú-ni, “At that time, the king went to Dūr-Adad” (unpubl., citation according to Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 150; ep. Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, after his 16th year).

3. The following publications deal with the royal journey: Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 149–50; Jakob 2003: 123–26; Faist 2006: 147–60.

4. The references are collected below only when the king is directly involved. A list of vocabulary referring to circulation of persons in general is given by Jakob 2009: 24.

5. On the expression *alāku* + *ḫurādu*, which clearly designates campaigns, see below section 3.

6) BATSH 4: 10, 14–15. <sup>14</sup>ŠU.NÍGIN 6 <sup>Giš</sup>ut-na-a-tu <sup>15</sup>ša IŠ-TU LUGAL il-la-ka-né-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>, “In total: six chariots, which are coming with/from the king”; lines 34–35, <sup>34</sup>LUGAL kaš-ši-ú <sup>r</sup>DAM-su<sup>1</sup> <sup>35</sup>IŠ-TU LUGAL il-lu-ku-né, “The Kassite king (and) his wife are coming with the (Assyrian) king”; lines 36–39, <sup>36</sup>áš-<sup>r</sup>šum<sup>1</sup> [KASK]AL-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> [ša] LUGAL [š]a EN-li <sup>37</sup>iš-p[u-r]a-a-ni LUGAL i+na UD.21.KÁM <sup>39</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>ap-ki a-na bi-a-di <sup>40</sup>[...] i-la-ka, “Concerning the itinerary of the king, regarding which my lord wrote to me, the king is coming [...] to Apku to spend the night on the 21st”; the king is also mentioned in line 45 but the context is broken away; (dated only with the day, the 21st, possibly ep. Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, after his 16th year).

7) KAJ 249 = MARV 10: 44, 11 and 14–19 (compare StAT 5: 44). <sup>11</sup>a-na 50 [h]a-ši-né (...) <sup>14</sup>i+na UD-me MAN KUR mu-uš-[ri] <sup>15</sup>a-na ša-<sup>r</sup>aš-bu-te<sup>1</sup> <sup>16</sup>a-na <sup>URU</sup>a<sup>1</sup>(copy: za)-ra-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-q[i<sup>2</sup>] <sup>17</sup>il-li-ku-ni <sup>18</sup>a-na KUR mu-uš-ri-a-ie<sup>1</sup>. MEŠ <sup>19</sup>ta-ad-na, “(Metals) for 50 axes ... on the day the king<sup>6</sup> went to Araziqu to “let seize” (i.e., capture or supply) the land of Mušri, they (i.e., the axes) are given (sold?) to the Mušreans” (Ep. Sin-..., Tiglath-pileser I). (Contrast the editions by Faist 2001: 90–91 and Jakob 2003: 497; and the interpretation by Prechel and Freydank 2011: 6a sub 44 and StAT 5: 44).<sup>7</sup>

8) MARV 1: 10, 3–5 (compare Prechel and Freydank 2014: 110–12). <sup>3</sup>i+na UD-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> IŠ-TU <sup>URU</sup>4\*-DINGIR <sup>4</sup>a-na <sup>URU</sup>Š[Ä.U]RU UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ ša še-e-li <sup>5</sup>a-na šal-lu-mi il-li-ka-ni, “(20 arrows cast<sup>8</sup>) on the day the king came from Arbail to Libbi-āli to complete the offerings of the sharpening<sup>9</sup>/dedication<sup>9</sup>” (ep. Hayašāyu, reign of Tiglath-pileser I, 5th year?).

9) MARV 10: 25, 6–10 (compare StAT 5: 25). <sup>6</sup>i+na<sup>1</sup> UD-me MAN I[Š-TU] <sup>7</sup>[U]RU<sup>1</sup>ni-nu-a a-[na] <sup>8</sup>[U]RUŠÄ.URU a-n[a x x] <sup>9</sup>[I]TI-<sup>h</sup>i a-na [x x x] <sup>10</sup>[i]l-li-ka-[ni], “(Materials to repair two kings’ [chariots] were delivered) on the day the king went from Niniveh to Libbi-āli to [...]”<sup>8</sup> (without date, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

10) MARV 10: 27, 13–16 (compare StAT 5: 27). <sup>13</sup>i+na UD-me MAN a-na UGU <sup>1d</sup>pu-rat-t[e] <sup>14</sup>il-li-ku-ú-ni <sup>15m</sup>KAL-DINGIR.MEŠ-DI.KUD <sup>16</sup>a-na <sup>h</sup>u-li MAN it-ti-ši, “(Clothes) on the day the king went to/across the Euphrates, PN carried (them) for the road (/journey) of the king” (ep. Gadiu, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

11) MARV 10: 54, 14–19 (compare StAT 5: 54). <sup>14</sup>i+na UD-me MAN IŠ-TU <sup>URU</sup>r x x<sup>1</sup> <sup>15</sup>a-na KUR su-<sup>h</sup>i il-li-ku-ni <sup>16</sup>URU.DIDLI.MEŠ-ni ša KUR su-<sup>h</sup>i <sup>17</sup>[h]u-rib-ta GAL-ta pâr-x[(x)] <sup>18</sup>[š]a<sup>2</sup> mu-ta-ni<sup>9</sup> i+na ŠÄ KUR a-šu[r] <sup>19</sup>[a/i-] na <sup>URU</sup>ap-ki uš-ša-[bi-tu-ni<sup>2</sup>], <sup>10</sup>“(Clothes were given) on the day the king went from the city of ... to the land of Suḫu (and) he let seize (the inhabitants of) the settlements of the land of Suḫu, (turned to?) a great desert, the ... of the plague to the inner of the land of Assur and to Apku” (compare the interpretation by Prechel and Freydank 2011; 7a and StAT 5: 54) (ep. Gadiu, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

6. It is not possible to determine if the land of Mušri is in the accusative, i.e., the object of the verb *šašbutu*, or perhaps in the genitive, i.e., as a qualifier of the word king, as in “the king of the land of Mušri.” However, since the verb *illikūni* is not in the ventive, the subject appears to be “king,” i.e., King Tiglath-pileser I.

7. This attestation has usually been interpreted as a military campaign. However, Prechel and Freydank have pointed out that this is not necessarily the case (2011: 6a). They translate these lines as follows: “Am Tage, als der König das Land Mušri zu integrieren, nach der Stadt Araziqu gezogen ist” (StAT 5: 44, 14–17). See discussion below, in section 3.1.

8. Prechel and Freydank (StAT 5: 25) reconstruct [UDU.SISKUR] “offerings” on the line 8 and [šal-lu-me] “to complete” on the line 8 and translate: “am Tag, als der König aus Ninive nach Libbi-āli, um das Opfer des Monats [zu vollziehen], gegangen ist.”

9. A restoration to *lamūtānu*, “slave(s)” (AHw, 534a, “Dienerschaft”; CAD L, 77, “a type of slave, male or female”; CDA, 177, “slave(s)”) seems improbable because of the Aramaic etymology of this word.

10. Prechel and Freydank (StAT 5: 54) reconstruct *maš-q[é-e]* “watering place” on the line 17, KUR a-r[i<sup>2</sup>-me<sup>2</sup>...] on line 18 and uš-ša-n[i<sup>2</sup>] “he goes out” on the line 19. They translate: “Am Tage, als der König aus der Stadt ... in das Land Suḫu gezogen ist, (und) die Städte des Landes Suḫu, die große Wüste, Trän[ken][...] Seuchen inmitten des Landes A[rime<sup>2</sup>...] (und) die Stadt Apku verlä[ss]t.”

## B. Other Words or Expressions That Indicate the King Travelling

### B.1. Verbs

*ebāru* “to cross”<sup>11</sup>

12) MARV 1: 14 (= Weidner 1954–56b: pl. 5): 28–30. <sup>28</sup>(...) <sup>1</sup>*i+na* UD-*mi* LUGAL *IŠ-TU* <sup>URU</sup>*kar*-<sup>GIŠ</sup>T[UKUL-*t*]*i*-*MAŠ* <sup>29</sup>UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ša* UD.5.KÁM *a-na šal-lu-m[e]* <sup>30</sup>*a-na* <sup>URU</sup>ŠĀ-*bi*-URU *e-be-ra-a[n-n]**i*, “(Cedar poles which the technicians measured) on the day the king crossed over from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta to Libbi-āli hither in order to complete the offerings of the 5th day” (ep. Qarrād-Aššur, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, after his 16th year).<sup>12</sup>

*elā’u* “to travel uphill or to higher ground, to go up, to ascend, to go to a more important locality (temple, palace), to a higher authority.”<sup>13</sup>

13) MARV 8: 7, 7–13. <sup>7</sup>*ša i+na* UD-*mi* LUGAL <sup>8</sup>*a-na* KÁ.DINGIR <sup>9</sup>*ni*<sup>1</sup>-*sa-na* <sup>10</sup>*a-na šal-lu-ú-me* <sup>11</sup>*i-lu-ú-ni* <sup>12</sup>*ša*<sup>1</sup>-*la-ta ma-’a-da*<sup>13</sup>[*na/še-š*]*u-ú-ni*, “(Bread which [...]) on the day the king went up to Babylon(?)<sup>14</sup> to perform the spring festival<sup>15</sup> he brought (/issued) much deportation” (ep. Aššur-zēra-iddina, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, 16th year).

*etāqu* “to pass along (walking), to go overland, to advance on or continue a journey, to march in review, to pass by, to elapse”<sup>16</sup>

14) Tab T05A-609. <sup>16</sup>*ki*<sup>1</sup>-*i* LUGAL *i+na* <sup>URU</sup>*ku*-<sup>1</sup>*li*<sup>1</sup>-*iš-ḫi-na* <sup>17</sup>*a-na* <sup>URU</sup>*ga-ar-ga-mi-si* <sup>18</sup>*e-ti-qu-ni*, “When the king passed through Kulišḫina(š) to Carchemish” (ep. Enlil-ašarēd, reign of Shalmaneser I, 28th year).<sup>17</sup>

11. CAD E, 10–13; AHw 182, “überschreiten.”

12. The attestation in MARV 4: 115 i 1–2 (see Freydanck 2009b: 73) is too fragmentary to be taken into consideration.

13. CAD E, 114–35; AHw, 206–10, “auf-, emporsteigen; St. hoch sein.”

14. The identification of KÁ.DINGIR with Babylon here is, in our opinion, uncertain, though it has been suggested by Bloch 2010a: 18–19; 2012b: 207–8; Jakob 2011b: 248a; 2013a: 111; 2015: 183 with n. 3; see Freydanck and Feller 2007: 7. It should be noted that the spelling KÁ.DINGIR without determinatives for Babylon is not attested elsewhere in the Middle Assyrian archival documentation and only once in the royal inscriptions of the period (KAH 2: 63 iv 8d; see RGTC 5, 47). The only reason for accepting this identification seems to be the bringing of deportees. Because it is not clear, however, where the deportees in MARV 8: 7 came from, we should remain skeptical as to identifying Babylon here. Other than the writing, it should also be taken into consideration that Tukultī-Ninurta I had just returned to Assyria from the south (*IŠ-TU* A.AB.BA), according to a document dated to the first day of the same year (KAJ 106: 12–14; see attestation 3.1.j). Consequently, it seems forced (although not impossible) that the king would return, almost immediately, to Babylon in one of the following months to perform offerings (the date of MARV 8: 7 is broken, but the month name ends in “-*tu*”; Qarrātu (II), Kalmartu (III), or Allanātu (VI) are consequently possible). In the face of this difficulty, Jakob (2013b: 518 n. 42) proposes that Tukultī-Ninurta I would have stayed in Babylon from, at least, *šippu* (I) onwards. This interpretation is only possible if we translate *uta* “eranni” (KAJ 106: 14) as “he sent back” (compare Postgate 1988: no. 58, “he brought back”). Moreover, MARV 1: 27, written during the month Kuzallu (V) of the same year, reports a present of wool made by (personal) order of Tukultī-Ninurta I ([*i+na*] <sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*bat* ‘LUGAL’, line 35) to Subarean, Katmuḫean, and Nairean deportees, as well as to technicians working at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. Admittedly, the context is damaged, but it is also stated that, “he came back” (*i-tu-ra*, line 31). All of this seems to indicate that the king was present at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta during the fifth month of the year. Furthermore, one should note the use of the verb *ilūni* “he went up” (MARV 8: 7, 11), instead of *illikūni*, the expected verb in the case of a travel (here, to Babylon). On the other hand, all these difficulties disappear if we identify *bāb ili*, “god’s gate,” with the gate of the Aššur-Temple in the city of Assur (or Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta). In the end, MARV 7: 8 was produced in one of these two cities. In conclusion, more straightforward evidence is needed to confirm the identification with Babylon in MARV 8: 7, 8.

15. Jakob (2015: 183 n. 3) has collated lines 9 and 12 of the tablet and we follow his readings of these lines.

16. CAD E, 384–95; AHw, 260–63, “durch-, vorbeigehen; passieren.”

17. Kulišḫinaš is usually written *ku-liš* (/li-iš)-*ḫi-na-āš* in Middle Assyrian (see RGTC 5, 171). We do not supply a sign <-āš> at the end of this writing in Tab T05A-609: 16 in accordance with Tab T05A-151: 10, where this toponym is written likewise and thus shows that the writing without the final sign -āš is apparently not a scribal error.

*namāšu*<sup>18</sup> “to depart, to set out, to move”<sup>19</sup>

15) Weidner 1966: 44, 7' (VAT 9968). <sup>7)</sup>[IŠ-TU <sup>10)</sup>šī-iš-]šar it-tu-muš 1 ME 1 šu-ši GÁ DU-ak [...], “He departed from the Wadi Tharthar. He went 160 ...”; in the same text, line 15': [IŠ-TU x x]-ni-te it-tu-muš 85 GÁ DU-ak, “He departed from .... He went 85...” [Adad]-nārārī (reverse line 12'), possibly meant to be the first king carrying this name, as well as the land of Suḫu (reverse line 9') and the Euphrates (reverse line 10') are also mentioned in this same tablet (Adad-nārārī I?).<sup>20</sup>

16) MARV 9: 43, 6. [ x ] lī<sup>2</sup> [ x x x ] x ša IŠ-TU LUGAL im-mu-šu-n[i], “... who/which departed with the king,” see also line 9: [ x x x ].MEŠ ša IŠ-T[U LUGAL i]m-mu-šu-ni and line 10: [...] x [ x x x x ] IŠ-TU LUGAL im-mu-šu-ni. The highly damaged tablet (which records the distribution of barley and flour) is difficult to date. The presence of the personal name Aššur-rēša-iši (line 7), without a title, caused H. Freydanck to cautiously place the document during the reign of Aššur-dān I (1168–1133 BCE).

*tuāru* G,<sup>21</sup> “to turn; return”

17) Tell Ali, no. 8: 5–9. <sup>5)</sup>4 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ ki-i LUGAL <sup>6)</sup>IŠ-TU <sup>URU</sup>su<sup>2</sup>-gi <sup>7)</sup>a-na <sup>URU</sup>šu-ḫi-saḫ i-tu-ra-ni <sup>8)</sup>e-be-nu-si <sup>9)</sup>a-na ka-ši-ma e-ta-pa-áš, “Four rams, when the king returned from Sugi to Šuḫisaḫ, Ebenusi sacrificed for the kaššu” (not dated, reign of Shalmaneser I).

18) TSA T 96-36: 6–12 (Wiggermann 2000: no. 10). <sup>6)</sup>i+na UD.6[+n.KÁM ša a-na <sup>URU</sup>t]a-i-di <sup>7)</sup>ni-tu-[mu-šu-ni LUG]AL <sup>8)</sup>IŠ-TU <sup>URU</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[i-di]<sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> KUR kat-mu-ḫi <sup>9)</sup>it-tu-r[a šúm-ma LU]GAL <sup>10)</sup>la-a i-ka-[lu-ú-šu] a-di <sup>11)</sup>IŠ-TU KUR kat-[mu-ḫi] i-tu-ra-ni <sup>12)</sup>i+na KUR us-ba-ni, “On the 6th<sup>2</sup> day, on which we departed to Taidu, the king went back from Taidu to Katmuḫu. If they do not retain the king, we will stay in the land until he comes back from Katmuḫu” (reconstructions according to Wiggermann 2000: 208; no date, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I).

19) Tell Chuēra, no. 41: 13'–17'. <sup>13)</sup>[a-di] PN<sub>1</sub> <sup>15)</sup>u PN<sub>2</sub> <sup>16)</sup>[i+na UD.]5<sup>2</sup>.KÁM IŠ-TU LUGAL <sup>17)</sup>[i-t]u-ru-né-ni, “until PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> come back from the king,” (see the interpretation of Jakob 2009: 76 for these lines. According to him, the king stayed near Harbe) (ep. [...]-ni<sup>2</sup>, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I).

18. The attestations in MARV 4: 138, 19 (“Protokoll über die Ausgabe von roter Wolle”) and KAR 216: 27 (coronation ritual) are not taken into account because these rituals took place in Assur or Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta and consequently did not imply that the king travelled outside of the city. The attestation VAT 16450, 4' (Weidner 1959: pl. 11) has not been taken into consideration as a direct relationship to the Assyrian king is unclear.

19. CAD N/1, 220; AHw, 726, “sich in Bewegung setzen, aufbrechen.”

20. Following Weidner 1966: 44; CAD has often classified this itinerary as Neo-Assyrian (see for example CAD N/1, 124b and 221b; CAD Š/2, 25a; CAD T, 382a) and only once as a Middle Assyrian itinerary, CAD Š/1, 77b. On the other hand, Deller 1966: 306, and Deller and Postgate 1985: 68, 73, and 76, classified or mentioned this text among Middle Assyrian evidence. They are followed by Faist 2006: 148 n. 5. Bloch 2013: n. 28 also identifies this document as Middle Assyrian and qualifies the described itinerary, writing that, “it seems likely that the maneuver would be carried out as a military stratagem, in order to make the Assyrians enter Suḫu from an unexpected direction. This suggests that the itinerary VAT 9968 describes a march of the Assyrian army against Suḫu (...).”

21. The attestation <sup>8)</sup>[i+na] UD.16.KÁM <sup>9)</sup>[i+n]a tu-ar DINGIR <sup>10)</sup>[LU]GAL<sup>2</sup> it-ta-ša, “the king went out on the 16th day, when the god came back,” Güterbock 1959: no. 4: 8–9 (see CAD T, 252a), has not been taken into consideration as it possibly refers to a ritual performed in Assur. The attestations <sup>8)</sup>i+na t[u-a]r ḫu-ra-di <sup>9)</sup>URU.DIDLI šu-a-tu A.ŠĀ-šu <sup>10)</sup>(...) i-dan, “he will give his field when he comes back from the campaign (against) these settlements,” KAJ 159 rev 8–10, and <sup>22)</sup>i+na tu-a-RA ḫu-[ra-di] <sup>23)</sup>id-din-nu x, “they gave at the return of the campaign,” MARV 9: 56, 22–23, have also been omitted, as the king is not mentioned. The context of the attestation: <sup>6)</sup>[ x x ] ú<sup>2</sup>- ta-e-ra-an-ni <sup>7)</sup>[ x x ] x x ša LUGAL, “... he brought back ... that/of the king,” MARV 4: 24, 6'–7' is too fragmentary to discuss here.



## B.2. Substantives

*gerru* “road, path”<sup>22</sup>

20) MARV 3: 1 i 20. [x x] *ša ger-ri*, “... of the road” (see Faist 2001: 32 n. 77, suggesting *gerru* as a possible reading for the sign KASKAL) (ep. Aššur-bēl-ilāni, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, 15th year). See edition of the text in section 4, below.

*ḥarrānu*, “way, road; journey” and *ḥūlu*, “way, road”

The logogram KASKAL perhaps stands for both *ḥarrānu* and *ḥūlu* in Middle Assyrian.<sup>23</sup> Even though Jakob gives the reading *ḥarrānu* for the sign KASKAL, since the word *ḥarrānu* is interchangeably written logographically KASKAL-*ni* as well as syllabically *ḥar-ra-ni* in a document from Tell Chuēra,<sup>24</sup> recent evidence supports that this sign can also be read *ḥūlu*.<sup>25</sup> In spite of this, the attestations written with the sign KASKAL will be, following Jakob, provisionally placed here under *ḥarrānu*.

The sign KASKAL (*ḥarrānu/ḥūlu*) appears not only independently but also qualifying a series of substantives: *emāru*, “donkey”; *qēmu*, “flour” (ZĪD); *qēpu*, “representative”; *sāpiu*, “knacker”;<sup>26</sup> *sābu*, “troop”; *šamnu*, “oil.” The following passages containing *ḥarrānu* and *ḥūlu* are related to the king’s journeys, even though it is not excluded that the words may rather indicate campaigns:

*ḥarrānu*<sup>27</sup>

21) Weidner 1954–56a, 274: 39 (Edict 6). ÉRIN.MEŠ *ša É.GAL-lim ša IŠ-TU MAN a-na KASKAL-ni il-[la-ku-ú-ni...]*, “the palace personnel who travel with the king on a journey.” In addition, Edict 6 informs us that jewelry and cloth containers were under the supervision of the palace overseer (*rab ekalli*) when the court was on a journey (Edict 6, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I). Edict 4 uses a similar expression and is possibly related, but is highly fragmentary (see Weidner 1954–56a: 273 *ad* 28). See also Edict 22: [šú]m-ma ÉRIN.MEŠ É.GAL-lim IŠ-TU É.GAL LUGAL a-n[a KASKAL il-la-ku ...], according to the reconstruction by Weidner 1954–56a: 289, 115 (Edict 22, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

22) MARV 10: 7, 1–12 (compare *StAT* 5: 7). <sup>1</sup>1-ni-a-tu <sup>KUS</sup>E.S[ÍR]/S[IR] <sup>2</sup>ša É.GAL-lim <sup>3</sup>ša ŠU <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ie <sup>4</sup>AGRIG GAL-e <sup>5</sup>a-na <sup>m</sup>ni-ri-ša-al-<sup>l</sup>dī<sup>7</sup> <sup>6</sup>li-tí ša pi-ti <sup>7m</sup>IBILA-ie <sup>8</sup>i+na KASKAL<sup>?</sup>-ni <sup>9</sup>ša UGU <sup>1D</sup>pu-rat-te <sup>10</sup>ša KUR tu-um-mi <sup>11</sup>ša KUR na-i-ri <sup>12</sup>ta-din, “One pair of sandals, belonging to the palace, in the charge of<sup>28</sup> Aplāyu, the grand administrator, is given to Nirišaldi, the hostage of the area of responsibility of Aplāyu, from<sup>?</sup> (for the) *journey/campaign* across the Euphrates river, (against) the land of Tummū of the land of Nairi.”<sup>29</sup> (Ep. Adad-rēša-iši, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

22. CAD G, 90–93; AHw, 285, “Weg, Karavane, Feldzug.”

23. See already Deller 1989: 261 in the context of the discussion on the reading of ZĪD.KASKAL. See Faist 2001: 32–33 and *MesZL* no. 302 with three correspondences for KASKAL = *girru*, *harrānu*, and *hūlu*.

24. *Tell Chuēra*, no 43: 3 and 5. Compare Jakob 2009: 24a, where he refers to Faist 2001: 32 with n. 77.

25. The profession *sāpiu ša KASKAL* (see Jakob 2003: 431–35, “Abdecker”) appears once as *sāpiu ša ḥu-li*, MARV 7: 99, 3. Moreover, Faist 2001: 32 n. 77, mentions that KASKAL might also be read *gerru*.

26. See Deller 1987: 62–63, “Abdecker”; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999: 79–93, esp. 87, “Tierhaarverarbeiter und Filzhersteller”; Jakob 2003: 431–35, “Abdecker”; Farber 2004: n. 1, “Kadaververwerter,” all with previous literature.

27. The reference MARV 5: 85, 19’–20’ has not been taken into account here. It refers to commerce of the palace, but not to a journey of the king. On the word *ḥarrānu*; see below section 3. The substantives *naptunu*, *nubattu*, and *piqittu*, will be treated below in section 4.

28. The expression “of the hand of” (*ša qāt*) designates the person “in whose charge commodities are said to be”; Postgate 2002: 301; Postgate 2013: 258–59.

29. Prechel and Freydank interpret this passage as a “(Feld)zug” to the “Oberlauf des Euphrat” (*StAT* 5: 7).

*ḥūlu*<sup>30</sup>

23) A 842: 18–19 (Donbaz 1992: 125). <sup>18)</sup>2 BÂN NINDA.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub> *a-na ḥu-li* <sup>19)</sup>*ša* <sup>m.d</sup>MAŠ-GIŠTUKUL-*aš+šur ta-a-din*, “20 liters of good bread (are) given for the road (/journey) of Ninurta-tukul-Aššur” (ep. Pišqīya, son of Kaššu, reign of Aššur-dān I).<sup>31</sup>

24) Weidner (1954–56a: 286, 96 and 99, Edict 20). GAL *za-ri-qi*.MEŠ *ša ḥu-ú-li* (reign of Tiglath-pileser I). See Jakob (2003: 78–82).

25) A 1051: 1–5 (Donbaz and Hararak 1989: 222). <sup>1)</sup>8 KUŠ ʾANŠE.ḤÚB<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ <sup>2)</sup>*ša É*.GAL-*lim ša ŠU* <sup>3)m</sup>IBILA-*ie* AGRIG GAL <sup>4)</sup>AN.NA.MEŠ URUDU.MEŠ <sup>5)</sup>*a-na ḥu-ul* MAN(erased), “eight skins of female donkeys belonging to the palace in the charge of Aplāyu, the Grand Steward, tin, copper for the road (/journey) of the king...” (ep. Kidin-Aššur, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

26) Weidner (1954–56a: 277, 54–55, Edict 9). <sup>54)</sup>(...) *šum-ma i+na ḥu-ú-li* <sup>55)</sup>*ba-lu-ut* GAL *É*.GAL-*lim ú* GAL *za-ri-qe*.MEŠ *la-a er-rab šum-ma šá* SAG MAN *ba-lu-ut qe-p[u-tu]*.MEŠ] *an-nu-te e-ta-rab ḥi-i-ṭa i+na-áš-ši*, “If they (the women of the palace) are on the road, he (a eunuch) should not enter without (the permission) of the chief of the *zāriqū*-palace officials (*rab zāriqē*). If the palace eunuch enters without (the permission) of these representatives, he will suffer punishment for the crime.” (Reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur).

### C. Attestations Indirectly Suggesting a Royal Travel

Some documents treat the royal journey without using any particular expressions such as the ones listed above.

27) DeZ 2532: 5. *a-na ta-kúl-ti* LUGAL, “(2000 liters of barley) for the meal of the king” (citation from Röllig and Tsukimoto 1999: 431 n. 7; contents from Jakob, 2003: 124 with n. 40). (Ep. Mušallim-Adad, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I).

28) Tab T05A-151 (Shibata 2012: 494–98 and below in section 4).

Ideally, we should reorder the attestations chronologically using date-formulae in order to clarify when and where the Assyrian kings travelled. However, as is well known, the order of the eponyms during this period remains debated and it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss this topic.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the order below follows recent publications and remains necessarily provisional. For convenience, the corresponding regnal year and absolute dates, where available, are noted, even though they still present many difficulties.

The attestations referring to the royal journey in the Middle Assyrian period, arranged chronologically, are as follows:<sup>33</sup>

30. Besides the following documents, the word is attested in the above-mentioned no. 10. The following attestation is not considered here as it seems that it refers to the inside or the proximity of the palace in Assur: Weidner 1954–56a: 288, 111–12 (Edict 21), <sup>111)</sup>(...) *šum-ma za-ri-qu*.MEŠ *i+na qa-bal É*.GAL-*lim ši-ip-[ra]* *a-na e-pa-še ú* MUNUS.MEŠ <sup>112)</sup>*ša É*.GAL-*lim i+na pi-i ḥu-li-šu-nu a-na* GAL *É*.GAL-*lim*] *i-qa-bi-ú IŠ-TU pi-i ḥu-ú-[li]* *ú-pa-aš-[ta-ar-ši]-na*, “If the water sprinklers have a task to perform within the palace and the palace women are at the entrance to their (masc.) Processional Residence, they shall report it to the palace commander; (only) he shall clear them from the entrance to the Processional Residence” (after Roth 1997: 207 [reign of Tiglath-pileser I]).

31. We do not think that Ninurta-tukul-Aššur was king but rather the royal prince when this document was written. We nonetheless cite this attestation because Ninurta-tukul-Aššur was directly part of the royal entourage.

32. The most representative works among the abundant recent bibliography on the subject are the following: Röllig 2004; Freydank 2005; Llop 2008; Bloch 2008; 2010a; 2012b; Jakob 2013b; Llop 2013; Salah 2014: 57–62 all with previous literature.

33. The attestations of Shalmaneser I's reign are provisionally ordered according to Bloch 2008: 146–47, though other authors do not



Eponymates	Regnal Years	Absolute Dates	Month/Day	Places	Attestations	Notes
	Adad-nārārī I?			Suḫu, Euphrates	Weidner 1966, 44: 7'	No. 15
Aššur-nādin-šumē	Sa 8	1266/56	Ša sarrāte (VIII)/26	Ḫanigalbat, Ḫabriuri	<i>Tell Ali</i> , no. 19: 10–12	No. 4
Aššur-nādin-šumē	Sa 8	1266/56	Pagrāyu/11	Nahur, Kulišḫina(š), Amasakku	Tab T05A-151	No. 28
Ina-pī-Aššur-lišlim	Sa 14	1260/50	Apu-šarrāni (XI)/14	Turšan (Tell Mahuṣ) on the Lower Zab	<i>Tell Ali</i> , no. 9: 4	No. 3
Ištar-ēriš	Sa 20	1254/44	Apu-šarrāni (XI)/1	Šuḫisaḫ (Lower Zab region?)	<i>Tell Ali</i> , no. 7: 14	No. 1
	Sa			Šuḫisaḫ	<i>Tell Ali</i> , no. 8: 5–9	No. 17
-	Sa	-	-	Šuḫisaḫ	<i>Tell Ali</i> , no. 8: 23	No. 2
Enlil-ašarēd	Sa 28	1246/36	Sabūtu/10	Kulišḫinaš, Carchemish	Tab T05A-609 (Shibata in press)	No. 14
Aššur-bēl-ilāni	TN 15	1228/18	Kuzallu (V)/1	Ninua, Dunnu-ša-mār-šarri, Kalḫu, Ālu-ša-Sin-rabi	MARV 3: 1	No. 20 and see section 4
Aššur-zēra-iddina	TN 16	1227/17	[...] -tu/10	KÁ.DINGIR	MARV 8: 7	No. 13
Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat	TN after 16th year		Ša kenāte (IX)/25	Dūr-Katlimmu	DeZ 4022: 9–11	No. 5
(Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat)?	TN after 16th year		Day 21	Kassite king, Apku	BATSH 4: 10	No. 6
Mušallim-Adad	TN after 16th year		Ša kēnāte (IX)/8		DeZ 2532	No. 27
Qarrād-Aššur	TN after 16th year		Qarrātu (II)/5	Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta, Libbi-āli	MARV 1: 14, 28–30	No. 12
	TN			Taidu, Katmuḫu	TSA T 96-36: 6–12	No. 18
	TN				<i>Tell Chuēra</i> , no. 41: 14–17	No. 19
?	Aššur-dān (?)				MARV 9: 43	No. 16
Pišqiya	Aššur-dān		Ša kēnāte (IX)/22		A 842: 18–19	No. 23
Hayašāyu	TP 4/5?	1110/1109	Apu-šarrāni (XI)/28	Arbail, Libbi-āli, Ebiḫ, Kaldāyū; Tarbaš-Bēlat-ekalli	MARV 1: 10	No. 8

always agree with his hypothesis. The attestations of Tukulti-Ninurta I's reign until the 16th year follow the *communis opinio* (Freydank 2005: 45–56; Röllig 2008: 4; Jakob 2009: 3; Bloch 2010a: 31–32). Attestation no. 21 has not been included as it does not reflect a concrete travel, but is rather a decree that regulates how certain aspects of the logistics of a royal travel should be managed. Similarly, this is applicable to nos. 24 and 26 as well.

Eponymates	Regnal Years	Absolute Dates	Month/Day	Places	Attestations	Notes
Kidin-Aššur			Apu-šarrāni (XI)/13		A 1051	No. 25
Adad-rēša-iši	TP		Kuzallu (V)/3	Purattu, Tummū, Nairi	MARV 10: 7	No. 22
Gadiu	TP		Apu-[šarrāni] (XI)/20	Libbi-āli, Apku, Suḥu	MARV 10: 54, 14–19	No. 11
Gadiu	TP		Apu-šarrāni (XI)/25	Purattu	MARV 10: 27	No. 10
Sin- [...]	TP ?		Sin (IV)/ 10[+n]	Muṣri, Araziqu?	KAJ 249 = MARV 10: 44	No. 7
-	TP	-	-	Ninua, Libbi-āli	MARV 10: 25	No. 9

Needless to say, the royal journeys mentioned in the table above merely represent a small fraction of those undertaken by Assyrian kings. Undoubtedly, the Assyrian kings conducted journeys much more often than is currently attested. This may be suggested by journeys undertaken on consecutive years, such as those of the 15th and 16th regnal years of Tukulti-Ninurta I. It seems rather likely that the kings attempted journey(s) every year, although this cannot yet be proven by the extant texts. Most attestations date to the reigns of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244/1263–1234), Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207/1233–1197), or Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076). It should not, however, be concluded that other kings did not travel as often, as the bias corresponds to the chronological distribution of Middle Assyrian archival documents at our disposal.

In addition, it might be worth noting that the journeys attested by the texts are concentrated within the month of Apu-šarrāni (six attestations).

### 3. Discussion of the Terminology

As seen from the attestations collected in section 2, the Assyrian royal journeys are often described in the archival documentation using the verb of movement *alāku*, “to go,” with the king as the subject of the sentence (but not exclusively, see section 2.B and C). This is clearly the case in attestations nos. 1–6 and 8–11.

The documents also record when kings were “returning” to a place (nos. 17, 18 and 19; on *tuāru* D, see below ex. j). Furthermore, other expressions used to designate that the kings were on the road were constructed with *ebāru*, “to cross” (no. 12), *elāu* “to go uphill” (no. 13), *etāqu*, “to pass along” (no. 14), and *namāšu*, “to depart, to set out” (nos. 15 and 16).

One should not exclude the possibility that these attestations actually referred to royal military campaigns, because the final aims of the “progress” are not always clearly stated (Bloch 2013). However, the fact that, some cases wherein the king was accompanied by his family, using slow-moving vehicles (see section 4) and apparently without a proper large military contingent, seem to indicate a more “peaceful” goal (see section 5).

Nevertheless, some of the attestations in section 2 are ambiguous as to whether we are dealing with a simple royal visit or with a military campaign. These problematic attestations are discussed in the next section.

#### 3.1. Distinguishing “Journey” from “Campaign”

Military campaigns lead by an Assyrian king are well attested in Middle Assyrian archival documents, especially in those from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. In these cases, the campaigns are expressed using the verb *alāku* in combination with the substantive *ḥurādu* “campaign,”<sup>34</sup> meaning “to go on campaign”:

34. Freydanck 1976b: 111–15. See Jakob 2005/6: 327b commenting on MARV 5: 53; points out that *ḥurādu* may, in some occasions, indicate

- a) MARV 4: 5, 19'. *i+na a-lak* LUGAL, “When the king goes (on campaign),” see lines 4–5: <sup>4)</sup>(...) *a-na la-a a-la-ki* <sup>5)</sup>*ša [ḫu]-ra-di*, “not to go on campaign (of the king),” and lines 23'–24': <sup>23)</sup>(...) *i+na tu-ar ḫu-ra-di* <sup>24)</sup>LUGAL, “at the return of the campaign (of) the king.” Clearly, the substantive *ḫurādu* “campaign” has been elided in the sentence on line 19'. (Ep. Qarrād-Aššur?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).
- b) MARV 2: 17, 110. *i+na UD-mi* LUGAL *a-na ḫu-r[a-di a-na KUR ḫa-ni-ga]l-bat il-li-ku-ni*, “When the king went on campaign to the land of Ḫanigalbat”; see also MARV 2: 17 frag. 2 l. e. 4, ... [... *i+na UD-mi*] 'LUGAL' [*a-n*] *a ḫu-ra-di a-na [KUR ḫa-ni-gal-bat illikūni]*...], (eps. Abī-ilī and Salmānu-šuma-ušur, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).
- c) MARV 4: 27, 21–22 (see Llop 2010: 109 and Freydank 2011: 360). <sup>21)</sup>(...) *ša i+na UGU* LUGAL <sup>22)</sup>*[a-n]a ḫu-ra-di ša KUR su-ḫi il-li-ku-ni*, “(Troops)... who went with the king on campaign against the land of Suḫu.” (Ep. [Abī-ilī]?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).
- d) MARV 4: 30, 19'–21' (see Llop 2010: 110 and Freydank 2011: 362). <sup>19)</sup>(...) *ša ḫu-ra-di* <sup>20)</sup>*[ša i+na UGU] LUGAL a-na ḫu-ra-di ša KUR su-ḫi* <sup>21)</sup>*[il-li-ku-n]i*, “(Troops) who went with the king on campaign against the land of Suḫu” (ep. [Abī-ilī]?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).
- e) MARV 4: 68, 2'–3'. <sup>2)</sup>[...ÉRIN.MEŠ *ša i+na UGU* LUGAL *a-na [ḫu-ra-di]* <sup>3)</sup>*[ša KUR su-ḫi i]l-li-ku-ni*, “[...Troops who] went [with the] king on [campaign against the land of Suḫu]” (ep. [Abī-ilī]?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).

Other miscellaneous expressions indicating that the king was on the move are listed below. Most include the substantive *ḫurādu*<sup>35</sup> and are consequently within the context of a military campaign:

- f) Billa 12: 17–18. <sup>17)</sup>*[i+na<sup>2</sup> ma]-dak-ti* LUGAL *ša ḫu-ra-[di]* <sup>18)</sup>*[(x x)] ša<sup>2</sup> i+na<sup>2</sup> KUR kat-mu-ḫi*, “... the king's camp of the campaigning which (he conducts) in the land of Katmuḫu” (ep. Ilī-padā?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I).
- g) MARV 1: 1 iv 40–41. <sup>iv 40)</sup> *i+na ANŠE.MEŠ ša KASKAL-ni ša IŠ-TU* LUGAL *a-na ḫu-ra-di* <sup>41)</sup>*ša KUR kar-du-ni-āš it-ti-ši*, “(PN) brought (barley) with the road-donkeys, which (went) with the king to the campaign of Babylonia” (ep. Etel-pī-Aššur, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, 13th year).
- h) MARV 4: 146, 12'–15'. <sup>12)</sup>[...] *ša i+na UD-mi* LUGAL <sup>13)</sup>[...] *ḫu-ra-di* <sup>14)</sup>[...e/el]-li-ú-ni <sup>15)</sup>[...]..., “... which/who... when the king... campaign... went up” (ep. U[šur-namkūr-šarri]?, reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, after his 16th year).

Other attestations without the substantive *ḫurādu* but indicating the movement of the king, at least indirectly, should be included in the context of royal campaigns:

- i) MARV 8: 51, 13–14 and 16–18 (ed. Llop 2010: 108 and Freydank 2014: 73–75). <sup>13)</sup>(...)ANŠE.‘MEŠ’ <sup>14)</sup>*ša KASKAL-ni ša ŠU mī-ma-r[a-ie]* <sup>16)</sup>*ša sa-ri-a-ni x x x x* LUGAL <sup>18)</sup>*a-na na-ša-e-ni*, “Caravan-donkeys in the charge of Imarāyu which the armor ... the king to bring”<sup>36</sup> (this attestation is related to MARV 1: 1 iv 42–43, Ed. Llop 2010: 107–8) (Ep. Etel-pī-Aššur, Tukultī-Ninurta I, 13th year).
- j) KAJ 106: 12–14. <sup>12)</sup>...*i+na UD-mi* LUGAL <sup>13)</sup>GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ma-da-te* <sup>14)</sup>IŠ-TU A.AB.BA *ú-ta-e-ra-ni*, “... in the day, the king brought back many ships (or the tribute-ships) from the sea” (ep. Aššur-zēra-iddina,

a civil campaign. His observation is supported by KAV 119: 10–11; see Postgate 1988: no. 44 “The contingent (*ḫurādu*) which formed the bricks of Šinamu”; Jakob 2003: 206–7.

35. The attestations of campaigns in MARV 4: 34, 18'; Ass. 2001.D-1503: 6'–7' have not been listed here, although they refer to expeditions supported by the royal administration, because the king is not directly mentioned and his direct participation is therefore unclear.

36. Freydank 2014: 73 reconstructs *ša<sup>17</sup> ka<sup>17</sup>-bi-it<sup>17</sup>* LUGAL on line 17 and lets it untranslated.

- reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, 16th year; this document is related to the Babylonian campaigns of this king).<sup>37</sup>
- k) MARV 2: 22, 1–2. <sup>1)</sup>... *i+na UD-mi LUGAL ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR mu-uš-ka-ie-e* <sup>2)</sup>*i+na* <sup>URU</sup>*qu-ba ša bi-ra-te ša KUR ḥa-ni-gal-bat i-du-ku-ni*, “in the day, the king killed Muškean troops in the city of Quba, one of the forts of the land of Ḥanigalbat” (ep. Ragiššānu, reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur).
- l) MARV 1: 10, 12–14 (compare Prechel and Freydank 2014: 110–12). <sup>12)</sup>*i+na KUR e-be-eḫ i+na SAG UG x DU* <sup>13)</sup>*a-na ŠĀ KASKAL-ni ša KUR kal-da-ia-e* <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>14)</sup>*ka-ar-ru*,<sup>38</sup> “(Arrows for the king) ... were removed (from the stock) in the mount Ebiḫ in ... during the campaign (against) the Kaldeans” (ep. Hayašāyu, reign of Tiglath-pileser I, 4th/5th<sup>?</sup> year).

It is to be expected that the royal journeys were distinguished from royal campaigns, which had the objective of suppressing a revolt or of expanding the borders of Assyria by defeating enemies. As discussed below (4.1), even though the royal journeys were protected by guards, they were apparently not escorted by a substantial military contingent. Moreover, the kings were accompanied during these journeys by female members of the royal family and female servants, which was most likely not the case for royal campaigns.

Nevertheless, the terms used in the Middle Assyrian documentation do not always clearly differentiate royal journeys from royal campaigns. Even for the verb *alāku* without complementation, which, as the attestations collected above indicate, *usually* implies a journey, it is still questionable whether the expression *never* refers to a campaign.

Most of the dubious attestations derive from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I; i.e., attestations nos. 10 and 11. The documents were written consecutively in the month of Apu-šarrāni (XI), on the 20th (no. 11) and 25th (no. 10) days in the eponymate of Gadiu, which is to be placed sometime during the long reign of Tiglath-pileser I.<sup>39</sup> It is highly probable that both documents treat one and the same “progress” of this king to the land of Suḫu: attestation no. 11 clearly refers to Suḫu as the destination and no. 10 also mentions *a-na UGU* <sup>10)</sup>*pu-rat-t[e]* “to/across the Euphrates,” which can be confidently taken to mean the region of Suḫu. It is well known that the region of Suḫu on the Middle Euphrates was of strategic importance for Assyria during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I in relation to the Aramean (*Aḫlamû*) raids, as well as for Tiglath-pileser I’s campaign against Babylonia (*RIMA* 2, A.87.1 v 48; 87.4: 35.41.42; 87.10: 41; see Beaulieu 2012: 261a and Llop 2003). The king reports in his royal inscriptions that he had to cross the Euphrates twenty-eight times, sometimes twice in a year, to fight against these seminomadic pastoralists. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the delivery note, MARV 10: 28, which dates to a month earlier during the same eponymate, records an operation by this king:

- m) MARV 10: 28, 10–13 (compare *Stat* 5: 28). <sup>10)</sup>*i+na UD-me MAN* <sup>URU</sup>*x x [x x]* <sup>11)</sup>*û* <sup>URU</sup>*e-piš-x [...]* <sup>12)</sup>*bi-ra-te* <sup>MEŠ</sup> *ša áš/pa-x [x x]* <sup>13)</sup>*û-ša-aš-bi-tu-[ni x x]*, “(Skins and sinews) in the day the king “let take” the cities of ... and Epiš ..., the forts of ...” (Muhur-ilāni (X)/27th; ep. Gadiu, reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

Considering the date of the document, it seems possible that the operation was conducted in Suḫu and is somehow related with the attestations nos. 10 and 11, even if we unfortunately cannot yet locate the toponyms mentioned.

Although attestations nos. 10 and 11 apply the verb *alāku* without complementation, considering the historical background of the documents, it seems indeed worth questioning whether the aim of the “progress” by Tiglath-pi-

37. Bloch 2010b: 46–47; Jakob 2011a: 202 n. 49; Llop 2011: 213–14.

38. Prechel and Freydank read *uq-na'-te'* at the end of line 12 and translate: “am Anfang des Lapislazuli(Flusses).” See their comment on the line in Prechel and Freydank 2014: 112.

39. In view of attestation no. 11 (MARV 10: 54 = VAT 15574), Freydank (1991: 136) suggests dating the eponymate to the middle of his reign. The eponymate of Gadiu is often associated with the grand palace administrator, Apliya, who was presumably active during the second part of Tiglath-pileser’s reign (Freydank 1991: 88–89 and Prechel and Freydank 2014: 10) and who remained in office during the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056 BCE); De Ridder 2013: 141.

leser I to Suḫu was somehow connected to defending the region in the face of constant pressure by the Arameans, and that, consequently, his “progress” had a primarily military function, that is, a royal campaign. Nevertheless, it is also possible to assume that his “progress” was indeed a royal journey around the region of Suḫu in order to support the existing *statu quo* of this unstable region.

As for the verb *alāku* without complementation, which could perhaps mean a campaign, we have one more ambiguous attestation. The following passage, an Assyrian document that records the movement of the Babylonian king Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I (1125–1104 BCE), poses the same problem of distinguishing between journey and campaign:

- n) A 1471: 7–9. <sup>7</sup>*i+na UD-mi* <sup>m.d</sup>AG-ku-dur-PAP <sup>8</sup>MAN KUR *kar-du-ni-áš* <sup>9</sup>*il-li-ka-ni*, “In the day Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, the king of Karduniaš, came” (Donbaz 1998: 183 n. 16; eponym not preserved; reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I).

While Bloch proposes an interpretation of the passage as a “peaceful visit to Assyria” by the Babylonian king (Bloch 2012a: 74 n. 79), the Synchronistic History ii 2’–13’ reveals that Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I came to battle with Aššur-rēša-iši. Given that the passage quoted above probably relates to the Synchronistic History, the verb *alāku* most likely indicates here a military campaign, though, of course, it is not excluded that Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I visited Aššur-rēša-iši more than once during the latter’s rather short reign.

To sum up, the presence of *alāku* without complementation in some documents remains a crux that is difficult to solve when no further information is available or the passages are damaged. The presence of these two verbs in a document is not definitive evidence for discerning whether a king’s visit to a region is a peaceful or a warlike one. This is only possible when other contemporary documentation that clearly indicates the circumstances of the journey is available.

### 3.2. *gerru*, *ḥarrānu*, and *ḥūlu*

A similar problem in distinguishing journeys from campaigns occurs with the substantives *gerru* (*girru*), *ḥarrānu*, and *ḥūlu*. Whereas these substantives have as their primary meaning “way, road” (see section 2 on the definitions), each of them can be also used in a military context.

The substantive *gerru* is attested in Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions as indicating a military campaign (for example *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.4: 41; 10: 41) but also simply a road (*RIMA* 2, A.0.89.2: 15’). In the archival documentation, the latter meaning is most prevalent,<sup>40</sup> but *gerru* could also designate commercial expeditions in these texts (*BE* 17: 77: 7; von Soden 1957/58: 369b; Faist 2001: 210, n. 44). All of these uses are in accordance with the meanings collected in the dictionaries.<sup>41</sup> In our attestation no. 20 (*MARV* 3: 1 i 20), *gerru* is inserted in what seems a “peaceful” journey of Tukultī-Ninurta I taken in company of his entourage (see especially section 4.1).

A similar range of meanings can be documented for *ḥarrānu*.<sup>42</sup> Whereas attestation no. 21 (Harem Edict 6) seems to indicate a “peaceful” journey, attestation no. 22 (*MARV* 10: 7) is certainly to be related to the military campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I. The latter document mentions the land of Tumme, which is attested only from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I onwards in Assyrian royal inscriptions (*RGTC* 5: 264); that is, it had been outside of the sphere of Assyrian influence before conquest by this king. Tiglath-pileser I had to cross the Euphrates to reach the land of Tumme, (one) of the land(s) of Nairi, as it is stated in his royal inscriptions: <sup>1D</sup>*pu-rat-ta lu-ú*

40. Attestations collected in *CAD* G, 90–91 sub *girru* A 1.

41. *AHw*, 285 “Weg, Karawane, Feldzug”; *CAD* G, 90–93; see also Steinert 2011: 311.

42. *CAD* H, 106–13 and *AHw*, 326–27.

*e-bir* LUGAL KUR *tum<sub>4</sub>-me* (...), “In fact, I crossed the river Euphrates. The king of the land of Tumme (...),” *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.1: 71.

The following attestation of *ḥarrānu* from the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I is clearly within the context of the king’s Babylonian conquest:

- o) *KAJ* 103: 11–17, <sup>11)</sup>ŠE *an-ni-ú* <sup>12)</sup>*a-na* PAD ÉRIN.MEŠ [( )] <sup>13)</sup>*kaš-ši-e* <sup>14)</sup>*ḥu-ub-te* <sup>15)</sup>*ša* KUR *kar-du-ni-aš* <sup>16)</sup>*ša* 2 *ḥar-ra-na-te* <sup>17)</sup>*ta-din*, “This barley is given for the ration of the Kassite people, deportation from Karduniaš, from two campaigns”

This document is dated with the eponym Aššur-zēra-iddina, which has been placed during the 16th year of this Assyrian king.<sup>43</sup>

At first glance, the substantive *ḥūlu* has a more restricted range of meanings, defined only as “road” according to the dictionaries.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, this is the meaning that *ḥūlu* seems to have in attestations nos. 23–26 above. However, *ḥūlu* may also have the meaning “campaign”: an attestation from the reign of Aššur-nāšir-apli II (883–859) collected by *CAD* H, 232a can be interpreted in this way: *AKA* 225: 30 (= *RIMA* 2, A.0.101.1: 96), *ina* URU.DIDLI *ša šī-di ḥu-li-a*, “in the settlements which (were) along my campaign” (similarly *AKA* 377: 102 = *RIMA* 2, A.0.101.1: 102). If attestation no. 10 can be related to a campaign of Tiglath-pileser I to the Euphrates, then the noun *ḥūlu* could already have this meaning in the Middle Assyrian period as well.

### 3.3. The King Staying

During their long journeys, the Assyrian kings needed to lodge (*biādu*; *ušābu*) at stations of the journey (*mardittu*). In fact, royal officials lodging at waystations are often attested in the Middle Assyrian documentation, for example:

- <sup>16)</sup>*a-na-ku iš-še-er-te* <sup>17)</sup>*am-mi-ša a-na bi-a-di* <sup>18)</sup>*a-la-a-ka*  
“I myself (Sîn-mudammiq) will come tomorrow thither to stay”  
*Tell Chuēra*, no. 2: 16–18.

- <sup>12)</sup>*[a-n]a-ku i+na še-er-t[e]* <sup>13)</sup>*a-na b[i<sup>2</sup>]-ṛa<sup>1</sup>-di [...]* <sup>14)</sup>*[a-na URUḥa]r-be* <sup>15)</sup>*[a-la-a-ka]*  
“I (Sîn-mudammiq) myself [will come] tomorrow to stay at Harbe”  
*Tell Chuēra*, no. 9: 13.<sup>45</sup>

Even though we have only one explicit attestation for lodging by a Middle Assyrian king, that is, Tukultī-Ninurta I staying (*biādu*) at Apku (see sub attestation no. 6 = *BATSH* 4: 10, 38) on his way to Dūr-Katlimmu, where he most likely also stayed, further indirect evidence is at our disposal. In another document from Dūr-Katlimmu (attestation no. 27 = *DeZ* 2532), 2000 liters of barley were delivered for the meal (*tākultu*) of the king.<sup>46</sup> Tukultī-Ninurta I may have stayed in Šibanibe (Tell Billa) during one of the last years of his reign (ep. *Ilī-padā*?), according to attestation no. 36 (*Billa* 12). Moreover, the badly damaged document *Billa* 38 mentions PN [...] *ša pān šarri*, “in front

43. Most recent reconstruction Salah 2014: 60, with previous literature.

44. *CAD* H, 231–32 and *AHW*, 354b.

45. Other references are the following: a messenger stays at Harbe during his travel to Sahlala and back to Aššukanni, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 5; Aššur-iddin, possibly a eunuch, stays at Harbe, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 43: 13; Adad-tūra stays at Pandibe, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 50: 7–9; Sîn-ētir stays at Qatāra, *TR* 2083A+: 6–9 (Postgate 1979: 92). Assyrian troops are also mentioned as staying at different locations along their march in a document from Dūr-Katlimmu: *DeZ* 2521: 4, 6, 8, 11, and 13 (Röllig 1983: 280 and Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009: 133).

46. On food supply for the journeys of the kings see next section 4.



of the king” (ll. 5–6) and the dish *šaplišhe*<sup>47</sup> *ša šarri* (l. 8), which may also refer to the king staying in Šibanibe. A king is also mentioned in a highly damaged letter from Tell Billa (no. 65: 10, 12, and 27), which might indicate his presence in this province. Furthermore, the attestation 14 (Tab T05A-609) suggests consequent banquets held for Shalmaneser I and his company in Kulišhinaš, a provincial capital, and then in Adališhu, a small city near Ṭābetu. We can safely assume from this that the royal company lodged at Kulišhinaš and Adališhu.

#### 4. The King on the Road: The Arrangement of the Royal Travel

In this section, we will briefly discuss: 1) the people who accompanied the king on his journeys; 2) the means of transport used; and 3) how the royal journeys were supplied with foodstuffs.

##### 4.1. Accompanying Persons

In reference to the people who accompanied a king on his journey, the following two texts are the most informative: a list of provisions from Assur, *MARV* 3: 1 (cited above as no. 20) and a letter from Dūr-katlimmu, *BATSH* 4: 10 (no. 6). Both documents date to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

Document no. 20 is a fragment the left half of a multicolumn tablet dated to the eponymate of Aššur-bēl-ilāni, that is, the fifteenth regnal year of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1229/19), and records the king’s travel in the month Kuzallu of that year. Even though several studies have been devoted to the text, no full edition has been published to date.

*MARV* 3: 1 (VAT 10037)

Obverse

Col. i

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) <sup>IT</sup> <i>ku-zal</i> -[ <i>lu</i> ] UD.1.KÁM                             | (1–2) Month of Kuzallu, 1st day, eponymate of Aššur-bēl-ilāni |
| 2) <i>li-mu</i> <sup>m.d</sup> <i>a-šur</i> -EN-DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i><br>(ruling)  |   |
| 3) UD.2.KÁM UD.3.KÁM UD.4.KÁM  | 3) 2nd day, 3rd day, 4th day,                                 |
| 4) <sup>URU</sup> <i>ni-nu-a</i>   | 4) Nineveh  |
| 5) <sup>m</sup> <i>sa-ar-ni-qu</i><br>(ruling)                                     | 5) Sarniqu  |
| 6) UD.5.KÁM <sup>URU</sup> <i>du-nu-ša</i> -DUMU-LUGAL                             | 6) 5th day, Dunnu-ša-mār-šarri                                |
| 7) UD.6.KÁM <sup>URU</sup> <i>kal-ḫu</i>   | 7) 6th day, Kalḫu   |
| 8) UD.7.KÁM <sup>URU</sup> <i>ša-d</i> 30-GA[L]                                    | 8) 7th day, Ālu-ša-Sîn-rabi                                   |
| 9) <i>nu-bat-tu</i> [ x ] <sup>r</sup> x x <sup>1</sup> [ x ]                      | 9) evening(rest) ...  |
| 10) <sup>r</sup> x x <sup>1a</sup> [ ]   | 10) ... [...]   |
| 11) [ ] <sup>r</sup> DINGIR <sup>1?</sup>  | 11) [...]...  |
| 12) [ ] x <sup>r</sup> TIR <sup>1</sup><br>(ruling)                                | 12) [...]...  |
| 13) [x] <sup>r</sup> <i>qa</i> NINDA <sup>1</sup> [( )] LUGAL                      | 13) [n] liters bread [( )] king                               |
| 14) 2 <i>qa</i> NINDA [(x)] <sup>r</sup> <i>um</i> <sup>1?</sup> - <i>mi</i> LUGAL | 14) two liters bread the mother of the king                   |
| 15) 3 <i>qa</i> NINDA <sup>r</sup> É <sup>1?</sup> .GAL- <i>lu</i>                 | 15) 3 liters bread the queen (lit. “palace”)                  |
| 16) 3 <i>qa</i> NINDA LÚ.MU.MEŠ  | 16) 3 liters bread cooks                                      |

47. For this kind of dish see Llop 2009/10: 23.

17) [x] 'x x<sup>1</sup> DUB.MEŠ ša MUNUS.MEŠ GIBIL  
 18) [n] 'qa<sup>12</sup> NINDA-ši-na  
 19) [x x] šal-lim-ma DAM.DAM.MEŠ  
 20) [x x] x ša ger-ri  
 21) [x x] 'NINDA-ši<sup>1</sup>-na  
 22) [n qa] NINDA 3 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
 23) [x x] a<sup>2</sup>-sa-am-li-ia  
 24) [n qa NINDA] 'ku-du-ra-ni-tu  
 25) [n qa NINDA] 'KÁ.DINGIR-i-tu  
 26) [n qa] 'NINDA<sup>1</sup> 'ú-am-na-še  
 27) [n qa] NINDA 'li-i'-tu  
 28) [n q]a NINDA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL  
 29) [n q]a NINDA DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL  
 30) [n q]a NINDA 'GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 31) [n q]a NINDA na-[x]-ra<sup>1</sup>-ia-tu  
 32) [x x] x MUNUS.MEŠ mas/pár-sa-tu  
 rest of col. I broken away

Col. ii

1') x [ ]  
 2') 4 q[a<sup>2</sup> ]  
 3') 4[+n qa<sup>2</sup> ]  
 4') [n qa<sup>2</sup> ]  
 5') 'x x<sup>1</sup>[ ]  
 6') [n+]1 ½ qa 'NINDA<sup>1</sup> 'x<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 7') 'x<sup>1</sup> KAR SA [ ]  
 8') '9<sup>1</sup> qa DUMU.MUNUS[.MEŠ LUGAL]  
 9') 6 qa DUMU.MEŠ[ LUGAL]  
 10') 6 qa GAL[.MEŠ]  
 11') 5 qa ša SAG L[UGAL kaš-ši-ú]  
 12') 1 qa <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-DIN[GIR-ia]  
 13') 1 qa <sup>m</sup>sa-ku [ ]  
 14') 9 qa NINDA za-ma-[ru ]  
 15') 3 qa NINDA KI.UD<sup>2</sup> [ ]  
 16') 2 qa 'lu-[ ]  
 17') 3 qa <sup>m,d</sup>a-š[ur- ]  
 18') 3 qa <sup>m</sup>RI-[ ]  
 19') 3 qa NINDA LU<sup>2</sup>-[ ]  
 20') 2 ½ qa [ ]  
 21') ŠU.NÍGIN 1 AN[ŠE ... NINDA ... ]  
 22') <sup>m</sup>a-si [ ]  
 23') <sup>URU</sup>ŠÁ[.URU<sup>2</sup> ]  
 (ruling)  
 24') 5 q[a NINDA ]  
 25') 2 q[a NINDA ]  
 26') 2 q[a ]  
 27') 2 qa[ ]  
 28') 3 qa[ ]  
 29') '12 qa<sup>2,1</sup> [ ]  
 30') '2 BÁN<sup>2</sup> x<sup>1</sup>[ ]  
 Rest broken away

17) ... of the new women  
 18) ... liters? Their (pl. fem.) bread  
 19) ... complete (given?) the spouses  
 20) ... of the road  
 21) ... their bread  
 22) [n] liters bread three daughters  
 23) ... PN?  
 24) [n liters bread] Kudurrānittu  
 25) [n liters bread] Babilittu  
 26) [n liters] bread Uamnaše  
 27) [n liters] bread Li'tu<sup>b</sup>  
 28) [n] liters daughters of the king  
 29) [n] liters bread sons of the king  
 30) [n] liters bread the magnates  
 31) [n] liters na...yātu  
 32) ... the women experts/secluded

(too fragmentary to translate)

[n+] 1 liters bread [...]  
 ...[...]  
 8') 9 liters (bread) daughters [of the king]  
 9') 6 liters (bread) sons [of the king]  
 10') 6 liters (bread) the great ones  
 11') 5 liters (bread) the [Kassite] eunuch [of the king]  
 12') 1 liter (bread) Šarru-ilāya  
 13') 1 liter (bread) Sakku  
 14') 9 liters bread the singers  
 15') 3 liters bread ...[...]  
 16') 2 liters (bread) Lu[...]  
 17') 3 liters (bread) Aššur-[...]  
 18') 3 liters (bread) ...[...]  
 19') 3 liters bread ...[...]  
 20') 2 ½ liters [...]  
 21') Total 1 homer [...]  
 22') Asi [...]  
 23') Libbi-[āli...]  
 24') 5 liters [of bread...]  
 25') 2 liters [...]  
 26') 2 liters [...]  
 27') 2 liters [...]  
 28') 3 liters [...]  
 29') 12 liters [...]  
 30') 2 seah?... [...]

## Reverse

## Col. v

1') 'x¹[	]
2') 1 BÁN [	]
3') 2 q[a	]
4') 6 q[a	]
5') 3 BÁN 6 q[a	]
6') 4 qa M[UNUS	]
7') 4 qa MUNUS[	]
8') 4 qa MUNUS[	]
9') 3 qa [	]
10') 5 qa ša S[AG LUGAL kaš-ši-ú]	
11') 1 qa <sup>m</sup> L[UGAL-DINGIR-ia]	
12') 1 qa <sup>m</sup> s[a-ku	]
13') 9 qa z[a-ma-ru	]
14') 4 qa 'x¹[	]
15') 'x x¹[	]
16') ŠU.NÍGIN 'x¹[	]
17') 'x¹[	]

(Ruling)

18') 5 qa[	]
19') 2 q[a	]
20') 2 q[a	]
21') 2 q[a	]
22') 4 q[a	]
23') 2 q[a	]
24') 3 BÁN 9 q[a	]
25') 6 qa[	]
26') 1 qa [	]
27') 1 ½ qa[	]
28') 'x¹[	]

Rest broken away

## Col. vi

1') [	] x
2') [	] x
3') [	] x
4') [	] x še
5') [	]-ri
6') [n qa a²-s]a-am-li- <sup>r</sup> ia¹	
7') [n qa] <sup>i</sup> ku-du-ra-ni-tu	
8') [n qa] -ia-a-tu	
9') [n qa <sup>i</sup> ú]-am-na-še¹	
10') [ ...š]i-na	
11') [n] qa <sup>r</sup> mu-ra-qi¹-a-tu	
12') [ n ] 1/2 qa ša i-za-za-a-ni	
13') [ n ] qa GAL mu-ra-qi-a-tu	
14') [ n ] qa <sup>i</sup> qí-bi-šar-rat- <sup>URU</sup> ni-nu-a	
15') 4 qa mas/pár-sa-a-tu	
16') 9 qa DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL	
17') 6 qa DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL	
18') 6 qa GAL.MEŠ	
19') 5 qa ša SAG LUGAL kaš-ši-ú	
20') <sup>m</sup> LUGAL-DINGIR-ia 1 qa <sup>m</sup> sa-ku	
21') 9 qa za-ma-ru 3 qa a-na 'x x¹	

2') 1 seah [...]
3') 2 liters [...]
4') 6 liters [...]
5') 3 seahs 6 liters[...]
6') 4 liters ...[...]
7') 4 liters... [...]
8') 4 liters ...[...]
9') 3 liters [...]
10') 5 liters [the Kassite eunuch of the king]
11') 1 liter [Šarru-ilāya]
12') 1 liter [Sakku]
13') 9 liters [the singers
14') 4 liters ...[...]
15') ...[...]
16') Total ... [...]

18') 5 liters [...]
19') 2 [liters...]
20') 2 [liters...]
21') 2 [liters...]
22') 4 [liters...]
23') 2 [liters...]
24') 3 seah 9 [liter...]
25') 6 liters[...]
26') 1 liter [...]
27') 1 ½ liters[...]
28') ...[...]

1') [...]	...
2') [...]	...
3') [...]	...
4') [...]	...
5') [...]	...
6') [n liters]	(bread) Asamliya (?)
7') [n liters]	(bread) Kudurrānittu
8') [n liters (bread) ...]	...
9') [n liters (bread)]	Uamnaše
10') [n liters]	their [bread]
11') [n] liters (bread)	female perfume makers
12') [n] ½ liters (bread)	the ones who stay
13') [n] liters (bread)	the chief of the perfume makers
14') [n] liters (bread)	Qibi-šarrat-Ninua
15') 4 liters (bread)	the experts/secluded
16') 9 liters (bread)	the daughters of the king
17') 6 liters (bread)	the sons of the king
18') 6 liters (bread)	the magnates
19') 5 liters	the Kassite eunuch of the king
20') Šarru-ilāya 1 liter (bread)	Sakku
21') 9 liters (bread)	the singers 3 liters ...

22') 1/2 qa ʿ x xʿ [ ]

Ca. five lines destroyed

(ruling)

28'') [ ] URU

(Ruling)

(uninscribed, space for ca. six lines)

22') half liter (bread) ... [...]

28'') [...Libbi]-āli(?)

29'') ʾṯku-zal-lu UD.30. 29'') Kuzallu 30th, eponymate of [Aššur-bēl-ilāni]  
 KĀM li-mu m.d[a-šur-  
 EN-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni]

a. Shibata proposes reconstructing ʿUD.8ʾ[.KĀM GN(?)] here.

b. Or Le'ittu?

This account settlement was written at the end (the 30th day) of the month Kuzallu (col. vi 29') and treats the allocation of bread consumed during a journey of Tukulti-Ninurta I conducted during this month. Since the account begins with the first day of the month (col. i. 1), it is highly probable that it recorded the account settlement of one part of a longer journey, which had already begun before this month. The food allocation listed in the text is probably *piqittu*, “allocation,” which is known from other Middle Assyrian documents.<sup>48</sup> The text begins with dates and toponyms, that is, an itinerary (i 1–10), which is followed by lists of breads allocated to the royal family, courtiers, craftsmen/women, and others (for example, singers). Because of the fragmentary condition of the document, it is difficult to understand the nature of the listings. However, the content of lines ii 21'–23' and possibly also v 16'–17' (subtotals) suggests that the list records breads consumed on several occasions during the journey, presumably during banquets held at the cities where the royal retinue lodged.<sup>49</sup> This interpretation would explain why same persons appear repeatedly in the list.

Due to the fragmentary condition of the text, the itinerary of the entire travel recorded cannot be reconstructed. According to the preserved portions, the journey started at Nineveh (i 4), where Tukulti-Ninurta I and his company stayed until the 4th day, and then continued south along the Tigris (i 1–4). After leaving Nineveh, the company lodged in Dunnu-ša-mār-šarri (on the 5th day), Kalḫu (on the 6th day) and Ālu-ša-Sîn-rabi (on the 7th day, i 6–8). The lines following i 9 are so badly damaged that the itinerary after Ālu-ša-Sîn-rabi cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Nevertheless, Libbi-āli, that is, Assur, is mentioned on ii 23', and it should therefore be assumed that the king and his fellow travellers went to this city.<sup>50</sup>

According to this list, the persons accompanying the monarch (i 13) included the mother of the king (i 14) and the queen (i 15, named literally “palace” É.GAL-lu). The text then mentions cooks (i 16) and then more women seem to be mentioned (i 17–19) but the lines are damaged. Women mentioned by name are Kudurrānittu (i 24), Babilittu (i 25), Uamnaše (i 26) and Li'tu (i 27). It is not self-evident why these women were mentioned here; perhaps one may assume that they belonged to the royal harem as spouses (*aššāt šarri*)<sup>51</sup> or concubines (*esirātu*). The daughters (i 28, ii 8', vi 16') and sons (i 29, ii 9', vi 17') of the king follow. Before the first column breaks, the courtiers or magnates (literally “the great ones,” LÚ.GAL.MEŠ, i 30, ii 10' and vi 18') and the (women) experts (*massātu*, i 32 and vi 15' or *parsātu*, “the secluded”?<sup>52</sup>) are listed. Other persons belonging to the entourage of the king appear in successive lines, such as a Kassite (i.e., Babylonian) eunuch of the king (vi 19' and possibly ii 11;

48. For *piqittu* see n. 66.

49. On banquets see section 4.3.

50. On this itinerary see Llop 2002.

51. Weidner 1954–56a, 270: 14; 279: 56; 281: 64; 284: 82; 290: 119; MARV 3: 78 r. 4' (singular form). See Weidner 1954–56a: 261, as well as Postgate 2013: 7 and 155, no. 62.

52. The readings remain uncertain since neither word is attested in any Middle Assyrian texts.

see Bloch 2012b: 203, n. 29), singers (ii 14' and vi 21'), perfume makers (vi 11' and vi 13') and other people whose names are broken (Sakku, ii 13, v 12', vi 20', and Šarru-ilāya, ii 12', v 11', vi 20' are still readable). These people are mentioned repeatedly in this highly damaged list. The perfume makers possibly fulfilled multiple functions: they produced perfumed oils for use during the travel (both for personal hygiene and beauty)<sup>53</sup> and may also have been associated with the performance of a royal rituals.<sup>54</sup>

Table 1. Accompanying persons according to MARV 3: 1

Person	Lines appearing	Person	Lines appearing
Mother of the king	i 14	Magnates	i 30, ii 10, vi 18'
Queen	i 15	<i>Massātu</i> or <i>parsātu</i>	i 32, vi 15'
Cooks	i 16	Kassite eunuch of the king	ii 11', v 10', vi 19'
...of the new women	i 17	<sup>m</sup> Šarru-ilāya	ii 12', v 11', vi 20'
Spouses	i 19	<sup>m</sup> Sakku	ii 13', v 12', vi 20'
“Daughters”	i 22	Singers	ii 14', v 13'
<sup>f</sup> Kudurrānittu	i 24, vi 7'	Female perfume makers	vi 11'
<sup>f</sup> Babilittu	i 25	The ones who stay	vi 12'
<sup>f</sup> Uamnaše	i 26, vi 9'	Chief of the female perfume makers	vi 13'
<sup>f</sup> Li'tu	i 27	<sup>f</sup> Qibi-šarrat-Ninua	vi 14'
Princesses	i 28, ii 8', vi 16'		
Princes	i 29, ii 9', vi 17'		

A letter from Dūr-katlimmu (attestation no. 6), possibly written during the eponymate of Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat (a year during the third decade of Tukultī-Ninurta I),<sup>55</sup> contains similar information regarding the people accompanying the king. The letter deals with the preparations concerning an impending visit of Tukultī-Ninurta I and his entourage to Dūr-katlimmu.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>1-5)</sup> To Aššur-iddin, my lord (speak): “tablet of Aššur-tapputtī, your servant. I prostrate myself. I stay at the service of my lord. (May there be) health for the king, the queen and the sons.

<sup>6-15)</sup> Concerning what my lord wrote to me: “send me a report.” Qa”i-mātu, the queen and her two sisters, 13 women, either our “good” women or the Kassite ones; two *alahḫenātu*,<sup>57</sup> as well as one *šatalšuttu* (or *ša rēšuttu*); in total (there are) six carriages, which are coming from (with) the king.

<sup>16-25)</sup> Concerning the allocation for the courtiers, about which my lord wrote to me: a threefold allocation should be prepared for the courtiers. It should be done correspondingly (as follows): one allocation for the queen, one (allocation) for the daughters of the king, one (allocation) for the guards.

53. See Brunke and Sallaberger 2010: 61 (suggestion of W. Sallaberger). Similarly, see the NA list of female personnel, SAA 7: 24 rev 8.

54. See below section 4.3.

55. *BATSH* 4: 10 is dated only with the day (the 21st, on line 47). Most of the dated letters of the archive belong to the eponymate of Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat; see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 10.

56. We offer here an English translation of this letter based on the edition of Cancik-Kirschbaum with minor divergences based on Postgate 2001.

57. The profession/title *alahḫenu* is translated differently in the dictionaries, *AHW*, 31a, “Müller”; *CAD* A/1, 294–96 “(an administrative official)”; *CDA* 10b, “miller”?; Freydank and Feller 2004: 9 sub no. 6 “Müller”; compare Jakob 2003: 386–94, “baker”; Postgate 2010: 21 n. 6, “baker.” Nevertheless the evidence is unclear.

<sup>26–35)</sup> Concerning the allocation of the king, may my lord do as it suits for him. Concerning the magnates about whom my lord wrote to me: All the magnates, both ours as well as the Kassites, all (of them) the former, as well as the latter, are now coming. The Kassite king and his wife are coming (also) with the king.

<sup>36–39)</sup> Concerning the route of the king, about which my lord wrote to me: The king is going [...] to Apku, to spend the night on the 21st.

<sup>40–46)</sup> Concerning the allocation of the king, about which my lord wrote to me: I report now [...] the allocation [...] the king [...].

<sup>47)</sup> 21st day.

*BATSH* 4: 10 is a letter bearing six reports to Aššur-iddin, the Grand Vizier, sent from a certain Aššur-tapputtī who played the role of liaison between Aššur-iddin and Tukultī-Ninurta I. The reports must have been in response to questions from Aššur-iddin. All of the reports concern preparations for the entertainment of the Assyrian king and the accompanying courtiers who would soon be visiting Aššur-iddin, most likely at Dūr-katlimmu. The first report concerns the queen and members of her household, who were apparently travelling along with the king (ll. 6–15; see Postgate 2001). The second treats the preparation of *piqittu*, “allocations,” that were given to the personnel of the household of the queen, “palace” (ll. 16–25).<sup>58</sup> The third report records the allocations to the king himself (ll. 26–28). The fourth report concerns the “magnates,” who also visited along with Aššur-iddin (ll. 28–35). What is noteworthy is that the fourth report informs us of a Kassite king who was visiting along with the Assyrian king (ll. 34–35).<sup>59</sup> The fifth report explains the king’s route (ll. 36–39). The sixth report seems to be again about the allocation to the king (ll. 40–46), though the exact content remains unclear because of the poor condition of this part of the text.

According to Postgate’s interpretation of the letter, Qa”i-mātu (l. 8) is the name of the Assyrian queen (written Ê.GAL-*lim*), who is accompanied by her two sisters (without name, l. 9) and thirteen other women, who are Assyrian and Babylonian. Two further women are identified as *alahhenātu* (l. 12) and one as *šatalšutu* (or *ša rēšuttu*, l. 13), although the specific roles of these women are still unknown. Other people mentioned are courtiers (ÊRIN.MEŠ *ša Ê.GAL-lim*, 16, 20), the daughters of the king (l. 24), the guards (ÊRIN.MEŠ *ma-šar(/ša-ār)-te*)<sup>60</sup> and the Assyrian and Babylonian magnates (“the great ones,” GAL.MEŠ; ll. 28, 30).

The presence of the Kassite king (LUGAL *kaš-ši-ú*) and his wife (DAM-*su*) is worthy of further consideration.<sup>61</sup> They were probably taken during the Assyrian campaign against Babylonia.<sup>62</sup> As will be discussed below (§5), parading the captive Kassite king around the Assyrian provinces was presumably an important purpose of this royal travel.<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore, according to attestation no. 14 (Tab T05A-609; see Shibata in press) Shalmaneser I also travelled accompanied by comparable retinue during an expedition undertaken in the eponymate of Enlil-ašarēd, in which Tukultī-Ninurta participated as a prince.<sup>64</sup>

58. The supply was not called *kurummutu*, in contrast to rations for workers. The word *piqittu* is the *pirist* nominal form from \**pqd* (see GAG §55c). See also Tab T05A-609: 20. The official in charge of the allocations was the “inspector of the deliveries” (*ša piqitte*). He had, for example, the duty of supplying foreign envoys in Harbe (Tell Chuēra) on the journey to and from Assur (see Jakob 2003: 173–74).

59. The royal inscriptions state the capture of Kaštiliaš IV during the eponymate of Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat (*RIMA* 1, A.0.78.6). Consequently, it is possible that this is the Babylonian king mentioned in *BATSH* 4: 10. See Cancik-Kirschbaum there. Compare Jakob 2013b: 519, who proposes Adad-šuma-iddina.

60. This reading is proposed by Postgate 2001.

61. Note that a Babylonian (*kaššiu*) royal eunuch was already present in *MARV* 3: 1, see above.

62. On the king Kaštiliaš IV of Babylon, who was captured during an Assyrian campaign, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 42–43.

63. See below, section 5.

64. Even though a daughter of Qibi-Aššur, Grand Vizier, is mentioned as a fellow of the company, no women of Shalmaneser I’s harem are referenced. If it is not the case that the document simply omitted them for unknown reasons, the absence of the harem women may be due to the particular purpose of this travel, which was a diplomatic trip to Carchemish. Furthermore we should also leave open the possibility that this “trip” of Shalmaneser I was in fact his campaign to Carchemish. See below n. 106.



Although, of course, the persons accompanying the king during his journeys must have varied from case to case, it can be said that, in general, they were the members of the royal family, such as the queen and concubines of the king, as well as princesses and princes, magnates, and various servants who worked at the palace. Also attested are guards (*BATSH* 4: 10, 25), who must have protected the royal retinue. It is worth mentioning that no single reference to a military contingent is attested so far.

Attestation no. 25, which deals with hides and metals prepared for a royal trip, might refer to weapons for guards, though this remains speculative.

#### 4.2. Means of Transport for the Royal Journey

The nineteen women mentioned as travelling with the king in the letter from Dūr-katlimmu (*BATSH* 4: 10) used six carriages (*utnannu*, pl. *utnannātu*; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 152–53), which supposedly had the capacity for around three women per carriage (one of the carriages probably transported four women). Though almost nothing is known about this type of vehicle from Middle Assyrian texts,<sup>65</sup> the personnel in charge of this vehicle were designated as “the (people) of the carriages-house” (*ša Ê ut-na-na-te*) and probably worked under the command of the “chief of the carriages” (*rab utnannâte*) at the royal carriage house (*bēt utnannâte*; see Jakob 2003: 218). From the attestations it is clear that the vehicle was built of wood. Interestingly, *narkabtu*, *mugerru*, or *uttartu* (other types of vehicles) are not clearly attested in any context of a royal travel,<sup>66</sup> although one may presume that they were used for this purpose. Though no further information is available as to how the king, magnates, or the bodyguards travelled, it is to be assumed that persons of higher status also travelled with types of carriages and were protected by bodyguards.

The distances that a royal party such as described above could advance in a day can be inferred from *MARV* 3: 1. Lines 3–8 of the document refer to the stages of the voyage. The party set out from Nineveh and then lodged at Dunnu-ša-mār-šarri (ll. 4–6) and apparently needed an entire day to cover the distance. The next day, they travelled from Dunnu-ša-mār-šarri to Kalḫu (ll. 6–7); the distance between Nineveh and Kalḫu in a straight line is ca. 33 km. This means that the royal party covered, optimistically, 16.5 km per day.<sup>67</sup> Considering that the road connecting two important cities in the center of the kingdom was probably in better condition than most of the other roads running the realm of Assyria, royal companies might have advanced even more slowly in other regions. It is very likely that the royal company travelled in general slower than other travellers known from the period. For instance, according to a well-known itinerary from Dūr-katlimmu (*DeZ* 2521), a contingent of soldiers could march about 25–30 km per day.<sup>68</sup>

65. The dictionaries interpret the word as a kind of building; *AHW*, 1398 sub *uatnannu* “ein Stall?”; *CAD* U/W, 3 sub *uatnannu* refers to *atnannu* *CAD* A/2, 499a “stable(?)”.

66. Examples of the use of the chariot by the king in the Middle Assyrian period other than in the royal inscriptions (see for example *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.1: ii 71, iv 67, vi 52 and 79 for Tiglath-pileser I, or A.0.89.7: iv 10 and 35 for Aššur-bēl-kala) are well attested in administrative documentation as part of the clause *kāra kārī taḫūmu taḫūmi ašar mugerru ša šarri ibbalakkutūni*, “quay to quay, border to border, wherever the wheel (i.e., the chariot) of the king traverses” (*CAD* T, 56b; Wilcke 1976: 214–15 n. 30; Postgate 1988: 104). The chariot of the king appears in some work contracts as <sup>GIS</sup>GIGIR *ša* GĪR LUGAL, *MARV* 1: 10, 6; *MARV* 9: 63, 2; *MARV* 10: 5, 2, 4, 7 and 10; *MARV* 10, 25: 11–12 and <sup>GIS</sup>GIGIR *GIŠ.GĀR* LUGAL, *MARV* 10: 24, 6–7 and 10–14. Although, in these cases, one could adduce the existence of a royal official *ša šēpi*, “of the foot” (*CAD* Š/2, 307) this official, to our knowledge, is not otherwise attested in Middle Assyrian. Prechel and Freydank (2011: 3b sub no. 5) mention passages from Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions in which this expression refers to the royal chariot.

67. In this case, if they travelled for eight hours, they covered a little more than 2 km/h.

68. Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 135. On the document see Röllig 1983: 280 and Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009: 133.

### 4.3. Supplies for the Royal Journey: Obligation for Local Governments

As suggested above, the food supply for the king and his party was called *piqittu*, “allocation,”<sup>69</sup> in contrast to rations for workers, which were designated as *kurummutu*. Obviously, the food for the royal company was mostly, if not always, supplied by local governments, and, furthermore, often consumed within welcoming banquets arranged by local elites.

This is most clearly documented by the above-mentioned letter from Dūr-katlimmu (BATSH 4: 10), which reported the preparations for a royal journey to this provincial center by Tukulti-Ninurta I. The letter reveals that the food supply for the arriving party was the responsibility of the officials at Dūr-katlimmu (the letter is addressed to Aššur-iddin, the Grand Vizier, there). Furthermore, the letter indicates that Aššur-iddin was highly keen on preparing the allocation (*piqittu*) in an appropriate manner, according to the status of each member: lines 19–27 mention that the allocations needed to be divided into several sorts. Clearly, this was crucial for Aššur-iddin and the local government.<sup>70</sup>

It was the obligation of the local elites (royal officials or local rulers) who hosted the visiting royal party to arrange welcoming banquets (*naptunu*) suitably for the entertainment of the Assyrian king and his company. A document from Tell Taban, Tab T05A-609 (attestation no. 14), contains detailed information about comparable banquets arranged by the local kingdom of Māri. The document records the consumption of sheep for welcoming banquets (*naptunu* pl. *\*naptanātu*) in the neighbouring cities, Kulišhinaš and Adališhu, during a visit of Shalmaneser I and his travelling party. The text reveals that the local government of Māri arranged at least three banquets for Shalmaneser I and his company, once in Kulišhinaš and twice in Adališhu.

Another document from Tell Taban, a receipt of flour, listed as attestation no. 28 above, gives us a further glimpse into the situation of the local side that was obliged to host the royal party. Although this document, dated to the eponymate of Aššur-nādin-šumē, does not clearly mention a royal travel, a journey by Shalmaneser I can be deduced from the contents. This royal journey was presumably the same as the one mentioned in attestation no. 4 (ll. 10–14), a document from Tell Ali dated by the same eponym (i.e., a journey by Shalmaneser I in Ḫanigalbat [the Upper Habur-region]).<sup>71</sup> For convenience, we quote the text of the tablet as well as the text (an excerpt) on its envelope, Tab T05A-152+153+157.<sup>72</sup>

Tab T05A-151 (inner tablet)

Obv.	(space for seal impression)
1	3 ANŠE 5 BÁN ZĪ.DA.MEŠ
2	2 BÁN <sup>z</sup> <i>si-im-du</i>
3	6 BÁN <sup>z</sup> <i>GAL.GAL.LA</i>
4	<i>i+na</i> <sup>GIŠ</sup> BÁN ša <sup>r</sup> Á.GIŠ.GÀR <sup>1</sup>
5	ša ŠU <sup>m</sup> <i>te-ḫu-up-še-ni</i>
6	<sup>m.d</sup> <i>a-šur-ke-ta-le-šir</i>
7	<i>ma-ḫi-ir</i>
B.E.	8 <i>lu ša a-na</i> LUGAL
9	<sup>r</sup> <i>lu ša a-na</i> <sup>URU</sup> <i>na-ḫur</i> <sup>1</sup>

69. The official in charge of the allocations was the “inspector of the deliveries” (*ša piqitte*). He had, for example, the duty of supplying foreign envoys in Harbe (Tell Chuēra) on the journey to and from Assur (see Jakob 2003: 173–74.)

70. Also, attestation no. 14 (Tab T05A-609) reveals that the quantity and quality of sheep prepared were not the same for all members of the travelling royal company. The same is also suggested by the list of bread prepared for the members of Tukulti-Ninurta I’s company (MARV 3: 1; see above).

71. Compare a different interpretation, namely as a military campaign, by Bloch 2008: 153–59. On the difficulties of the interpretation by Bloch see below n. 107.

72. An edition of the inner tablet is already published in Shibata 2012: 494–98.

Rev.	10	<i>lu ša a-na</i> <sup>URU</sup> <i>ku-li-iš-ḥi-na</i>
	11	<i>lu ša a-na</i> <sup>URU</sup> <i>a-ma-sa-ki</i>
	12	<i>na-aš-šú-ni</i>
	13	<i>lu ta-kúl-tu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>ša</i> DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL
	14	<i>ša</i> 14( <sub>over sign</sub> ) UD( <sub>over sign</sub> ).MEŠ <i>a-na lib-bi-ma</i>
	15	<i>ka-me-er</i>
	16	<sup>IT1</sup> <i>pa-ag-ra-ia-ú</i>
	17	UD.11.KÁM <i>li-mu</i>
T.E.	18	<sup>m.d</sup> <i>a-šur-na-din</i> -MU.MEŠ

<sup>1-7)</sup> 3 homers 5 *sūtu* of flour, 2 *sūtu* of *simdu*-flour, 6 *sūtu* of *samīdu*-flour, according to the *sūtu* measure of the work assignment, in the charge of Teḥup-šenni, Aššur-ketta-lēšir (I) has received.

<sup>8-15)</sup> Whether (it is) that (delivered) to the king (of Assyria), or (it is) that (delivered) to the city of Naḥur, or (it is) that (delivered) to the city of Kulišḥina(š), or (it is) that delivered to the city of Amasakku, or (it is) a meal for the daughter of the king for fourteen days, it (*sc.* the flour) was added to it (*sc.* previously received flour).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>16-18)</sup> Month of Pagrāyu, 11th day, eponymate of Aššur-nādin-šumē.<sup>74</sup>

Tab T05A-152+153+157 (envelope)

Vs.	1	[ <i>t</i> ]up-pí 3 ANŠE 5 BÁN 'ZÌ'.DA.MEŠ
	2	2 BÁN <sup>Z1</sup> <i>si-im-dī</i> <sup>1</sup>
	3	'6 BÁN <sup>1</sup> <sup>Z1</sup> GA[L.GAL]
	4	[ <i>i+na</i> <sup>GIŠ</sup> BÁN] 'ša Á.GIŠ <sup>1</sup> .[GÀR]
	5	[ša ŠU <sup>m</sup> ] 'te-ḥu <sup>1</sup> -up-še-ni
	6	[ <sup>m.d</sup> <i>a-š</i> ]ur-'ke-ta-le <sup>1</sup> -šir
	7	[ <i>ma-ḥi</i> ]-ir
B.E.		(space for seal impression)
Rev.		(space for seal impression)
		(space for seal impression)
		(space for seal impression)
T.E.		(space for seal impression)

The receipt presented above documents various sorts of flour received by a local ruler of Ṭābetu, Aššur-ketta-lēšir I. It is worth noting that the passage in ll. 8–14 refers to the purpose for which the flour was used. As suggested elsewhere (Shibata 2012: 497–98), it is apparent that this purpose was not fully determined at the time when the present document was written, as clearly indicated by the lack of certainty of how much flour should be sent, where it should be delivered, or who should receive it. According to ll. 8–11, the flour could have been delivered to “the king,” that is, Shalmaneser I, or to the cities of Naḥur, Kulišḥinaš, or Amasakku in the Upper Habur region. As revealed by these lines, the flour was planned to be delivered to Shalmaneser I and/or to one of these cities, though we do not know where the flour was sent (or possibly not sent) in the end. The last remark refers to a meal

73. An interpretation that in the Middle Assyrian administrative terminology the expression *ana libbi(ma) kamāru* designates an addition to an account, which was personally suggested by Nicholas Postgate to Shibata (Shibata 2012: 496–97), is now supported by further attestations in several newly published texts (e.g., MARV 9: 112, 20–22) and a question mark is no longer necessary.

74. On the month name see Shibata 2010: esp. 223.

of fourteen days served to a woman called “daughter of king,” who was most likely an Assyrian princess married into the local royal family.<sup>75</sup>

Such descriptions in the receipt clearly indicate that the flour was received to make the bread to be served on the tables of Shalmaneser I (and perhaps also his attendants) or for the meal of the Assyrian princess. Furthermore, from the latter part of the receipt it can be assumed that a feast with Shalmaneser I in attendance was planned for the near future in a location in the Upper Habur region, probably one of the three cities mentioned in the document, since it would be strange that the flour for Shalmaneser I would be mentioned with flour meant for the cities on the Upper Habur region if the king had been staying at Assur. The exact schedule for Shalmaneser I’s visit, however, was either not yet determined or not communicated to the city of Tābetu, so that the address for delivery was not yet clear at that time. The meal for the Assyrian princess referred to in the document was related to the royal banquet in some way. The most plausible scenario might be that the Assyrian princess planned to join the banquet and needed provisions for the journey to a city where the banquet would have been held, as well as for her stay there. Fourteen days seems to be an appropriate length of time for a round trip between Tābetu and the Upper Habur region. The princess most likely went to meet her father or uncle, depending on whether she was the daughter of Shalmaneser I or of his predecessor, Adad-nārārī I.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, Frans Wiggermann, who referred to banquets that took place with the presence of an Assyrian king in the *dunnu* (Tell Sabi Abyad), recently proposed possible ritual practices that were integrated in the royal banquets as follows: “the little that is known of the Tell Sabi Abyad *šākultu* shows that it involved a ritual act (the pouring of scented oil) and the king. Among the very few literary texts from the site two are centred on the king, confirming the local execution of royal rituals” (2008: 560b). He also suggests the possibility that the presence of the king himself was not necessary, as his substitute statue could replace him (2008: 560b–61a). The list from Assur edited above (attestation no. 20) and the text cited as attestation no. 27 might be also related to such rituals, as suggested by the presence of perfume makers. Wiggermann describes such banquets (in Tell Sabi Abyad) during which beer was consumed and gifts were distributed. It is probable that the royal banquets during the royal journey were held in a similar fashion as those detailed by Wiggermann. He describes one such banquet as the “setting for a more or less formal meeting between representatives of the Assyrian imperial administration and the local Sutean pastoralists, an occasion on which the two parties could confirm their good relations and discuss current affairs” (2008: 561b). In the case of the Assyrian king on the road, it was the local elite who had the privilege of entertaining and conversing with the king.

The probability that local elites had to arrange welcoming banquets for visiting royal company is also indirectly suggested by the documentation from Tell Ali (ancient Atmānu), attestations nos. 1–3, which record rams served for the royal meal:

*Tell Ali*, no. 7: 4. 2 UDU.NÍTA *a-na nap-ta-an* LUGAL, “two rams to the royal meal” (attestation no. 1).

*Tell Ali*, no. 8: 1–4. <sup>1</sup>4 UDU.NÍTA *ki-i* LUGAL <sup>2</sup>A KU *ú-ka-i-la-ni* <sup>3</sup>1 É *a-na ka-ši* <sup>4</sup>*e-ta-pa-aš*, “four rams when the king held the ... one house sacrificed for the *kaššu*” (it is not clear here if the rams were for the meal of the king) (attestation no. 2).

*Tell Ali*, no. 9: 1–5. <sup>1</sup> *tup-pí* 5 UDU *zi-bu-tu*.MEŠ <sup>2</sup>ša É.GAL-*lim* <sup>3</sup>ša *i+na* <sup>URU</sup>*tur-ša-an* <sup>4</sup>*i+na a-lak*<sup>1</sup> LUGAL <sup>5</sup>*i-ta-ku-lu*, “a tablet of five fat-tailed sheep, belonging to the palace, which will be consumed in Turšan at the royal progress” (attestation no. 3).

75. On this issue, see Shibata 2015a.

76. In the case that the total 430 litres of flour were delivered to the journey of the Assyrian princess, from this quantity of flour, a total of 430 liters of bread could be produced. Assuming rations of 3 to 4 liters of bread per person (see above MARV 3: 1) a group of approximately ten people could be fed for fourteen days. The equivalence 1 to 1 bread/flour is attested in MARV 3: 16; see edition in Llop 2009/10: 1–46.

Considering that such banquets were held for the benefit of the travelling royal company, the aforementioned list of bread allocated for the personages accompanying Tukulti-Ninurta I in *MARV 3: 1* should be interpreted as the list of bread consumed during the several banquets held in the cities where the royal company lodged, even if it is only mentioned fragmentarily (*nubattu*, i 9). As summarized above in the table of accompanying persons according to *MARV 3: 1*, the text has repeated entries of the bread allocated for almost the same members. It is very likely that one list of bread corresponds to a list of bread consumed at one banquet.

As for the contents of the meal eaten during such banquets, the food allocated for the king in the banquets was surely larger than that meant to be eaten by one person, that is, the typical one liter (*qa*) of barley per person at the time. Unfortunately, the quantity of bread allocated to the king in *MARV 3: 1* i 13 is broken, but the allocation for his mother is two liters and three liters are delivered to the queen (i 14–15). Other allocations are difficult to determine as the quantities of bread received by the rest of the royal entourage are mostly broken away, or, conversely, when the quantities are preserved, the names or titles of the people receiving them are broken away. However, some of the preserved allocations are quite high. For example, the Babylonian eunuch received five liters of bread (vi 19 and possibly ii 11'). Thus, it is obvious that the quantity of bread allocated for each person in *MARV 3: 1* is too much for one actual meal. The case of *MARV 3: 1* is clearly not an exception. According to attestation no. 27, a large quantity of barley, 2,000 liters, was delivered in Dūr-katlimmu for a meal (*tākultu*) of the king. Doing a trial calculation for reference, with this quantity of barley, 1,333 liters of flour could be produced.<sup>77</sup> This means that 444 rations of bread could be prepared (each person receiving 3 *qa*) and so forty-four people could be fed for ten days! Furthermore, this is also the case in the royal banquets documented by the attestation no. 14 (Tab T05A-609). The number of sheep allocated for one person in the document is clearly too many. Accompanying subordinates must also have eaten the barbecued sheep, most probably as *rēḫtu* “leftover,” which is well attested by Neo-Assyrian documents (see Parpola 2004: 281–312).

In terms of the menu of the royal meal, the above-mentioned attestations nos. 1–3, from Tell Ali, clearly indicate that the foodstuffs consumed by the royal company included meat along with the bread. Meat, as is well known, was typically not eaten by commoners. Besides bread and meat, we can safely expect that other foodstuffs such as vegetables and beer were served for royal company, even if they are not testified in any Middle Assyrian documents yet.

## 5. The King's Arrival: Social Implications of the Royal Journey

Why did Assyrian kings dare to travel with their family and servants so often, despite the fact that such journeys could involve some danger? What was the purpose of such royal voyages? The problem is difficult to solve, since there is thus far no document that contains an entire royal journey. The attestations only refer to parts of the voyage, and only briefly. Furthermore, as discussed above, some attestations are philologically difficult, which hinders our understanding of the recorded royal journey. Here we will try to address these problems, based on the assembled references to the royal journey.

It is safe to assume that royal journeys had various aims and effects, which seem, from our point of view, to be articulated separately. Here we will treat these various aims and effects together, without asking which is “primary” and which is “secondary,” since these are inseparable in many respects and it would be misleading to order them hierarchically.

77. A ratio of 1:1.5 flour/barley is adduced in Bloch 2012b: 199, n. 9.

The royal journey was often, if not always, cultic in nature.<sup>78</sup> This is most clearly stated by attestations nos. 8 (MARV 1: 10), 12 (MARV 1: 14), and 13 (MARV 8, 7), which explicitly refer to ritual offerings as the purpose of the royal journey in a final clause. No. 8, 4–5: <sup>4</sup>(...) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ša še-e-li* <sup>5</sup>*a-na šal-lu-mi* “to complete the offerings of the sharpening<sup>2</sup>/dedication” (from Arbail to Libbi-āli = Assur); no. 12, 29: UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ša UD.5.KĀM a-na šal-lu-m[e]* “to complete the offerings of the 5th day” (from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta to Libbi-āli = Assur); no. 13, 9–10: <sup>9</sup>*ni-sa-na* <sup>10</sup>*a-na šal-lu-ú-me*, “to perform the spring festival” (possibly to Babylon, see n. 14). It stands to reason that “to complete the offerings” indicates royal participation in the cult, possibly during annual festivals, as is the case for contemporary Hittite kings and later Neo-Assyria rulers.<sup>79</sup> It is noteworthy that attestation no. 8 documents that the king went from Arbail to Assur in order to take part in the cult of Assur. In the Neo-Assyrian period, the *akītu*-festivals at Arbail, as Weissert suggests, were held during the months of Addaru and Elūlu, followed by the *akītu*-festivals at Assur, which were held during the months of Nisannu and Tašritu, suggesting that Assyrian kings took part in the *akītu*-festivals as they visited various cultic centres.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps we might presume that such annual royal festivals held at important cultic centres in the Tigris-Zab region already took place during the Middle Assyrian period, even if this proposal remains speculative.

Alongside attestations nos. 8, 12, and 13, which clearly refer to the cultic purpose of the royal visit, other documents, such as attestations 1 and 2, indirectly suggest a similar cultic background. Even though the aim of Shalmaneser I's visit is not clearly stated in attestations 1 and 2, the references to the consumption of sheep in the same documents suggest that the king took part in the local cult. Attestation no. 1, which refers to sheep sacrificed on the occasion of Shalmaneser I's visit to the city of Šuḫisaḫ, also mentions sheep offered for a deity, used for a certain cultic purpose, and used for extispicy: 6, (UDU.NĪTA) *a-na pa-ni* <sup>4</sup>30, “(a ram offered) in front of Sîn”; *ibid.* l. 8, *a-na ka-aš-ši* “for ...,”<sup>81</sup> and 9, *a-na ba-e-ru-te*, “for the extispicy.”<sup>82</sup> Very similar cultic practices, perhaps referring to the same occasion, are also present in the text of attestation no. 2 (l. 3, *a-na ka-ši*; l. 9, *a-na ka-ši-ma*, l. 11, *a-na ni-qī-a-te*).

Nevertheless, the royal journey was surely not solely cultic in nature. It is to be supposed that the royal presence in regional territories contributed to establishing and strengthening Assyrian governance at these localities. This can be deduced from the royal banquets, which were carefully arranged by the local elites, for whom hosting was an obligation. One may presume that by means of such royal banquets, the hierarchical relationship between the crown and the local elites would have been embodied so that the latter pledged allegiance and loyalty to the former. Furthermore, attestations nos. 7, 10, 11, and 22 may refer to a royal journey to visit a recently conquered territory.

It seems most probable that royal journeys often had both cultic *and* political purposes. A similarly complex situation is recorded in attestation no. 13, which mentions the completion of spring festival as the purpose of Tukultī-Ninurta I's visit. The same document refers to “many deportations” (*šal-la-ta ma-’a-da*), which seems to relate to his recent successful military campaign. It is noteworthy that comparable deportees from Babylonia were also recorded in three other documents, KAJ 103, *ibid.* 106 and MARV 1: 27, written in the same year, the eponymate of Aššur-zēra-iddina (the 15th year of Tukultī-Ninurta I).<sup>83</sup> Attestation no. 13 suggests both cultic and military—or perhaps better designated as “triumphal”—characteristics of this journey by Tukultī-Ninurta I. Perhaps we may assume a “forerunner” of the Neo-Assyrian royal “triumphal tours,” which are known from the seventh century B.C. These Neo-Assyrian “tours” were expeditions, in which the Assyrian kings, accompanied by

78. See, e.g., Pappi 2012: 587: “The religious and political dimensions of cultic travel were intimately connected.”

79. See, e.g., Nakamura 2002: 12; Maul 2000; and Weissert 1997.

80. See Weissert 1997: 347 and Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 79–83; Parpola 1983: 192–94; Radner 2011: 321–29.

81. The exact meaning of this word remains unclear, but it refers to a ritual practice: see Deller 1987: 63a; Ismail and Postgate 2008: 160–61; Jakob 2009: 77; and Freydank 2010: 670.

82. On the attestation and this Middle Assyrian term for the extispicy see Shibata 2015b: 148–50.

83. However, it must be noted that no military campaign against Babylonia is so far attested for this year. Furthermore, see the caveats on this issue referred in n. 14.



their army, appeared in previously conquered locations and collected tribute.<sup>84</sup> Attestations nos. 15 and 16 may conceivably concern such “triumphal tours.” Firstly, the verb *namāšu*, “move on,”<sup>85</sup> which is used to describe the Neo-Assyrian “triumphal tours,” is also used in these cases. It is thus not impossible, *a priori*, that these two attestations refer to such a movement as well. Although attestation no. 16 is too fragmentary for discussion, attestation no. 15 (VAT 9968; Weidner 1966: pl. viii) refers to the toponym *Suḫu* (rev. 9’), which was outside of the area of Assyrian influence at the time of the document’s possible date of composition (during the reign of Adad-nārārī I), and which, consequently, had to be conquered before a “triumphal tour” could have been arranged there.<sup>86</sup>

Assuming that some Middle Assyrian royal journeys were of similar nature as the later triumphal tours, it is understandable why Tukulti-Ninurta I visited Dūr-katlimmu, taking the Kassite king with his spouse along with him, as revealed by attestation no. 6, perhaps in the eponymate of Ina-Aššur-šumī-ašbat. After all, the royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal narrate how Assurbanipal took his captive archenemies, such as Dunanu of Gambulu, around during his progress, as reconstructed by Weissert.<sup>87</sup> With this in mind, it seems likely that Tukulti-Ninurta I’s journey with the Kassite king to Dūr-katlimmu was part of a grandiose triumphal tour, travelling all over the territory considered Assyrian at that point, from one important regional centre to another. This would then be comparable to the well-known Assurbanipal tour, even though Tukulti-Ninurta I’s treatment of the Kassite king appears to have been less “brutal” than Assurbanipal’s, as indicated by the letter. Considering the cultic aspect of the Middle Assyrian royal journey discussed above, it seems reasonable to assume that Tukulti-Ninurta I participated in the local cults during the possible triumphal tour, as would Assurbanipal, although this remains, of course, speculative.

Some of the royal journeys recorded by the administrative documentation were bound for foreign countries. We can safely assume that these journeys had some sort of diplomatic purpose. Such diplomatic travels are well attested in various periods in the form of messengers/ambassadors who mediated between different polities, and the Amarna letters from the fourteenth century provide examples that are particularly pertinent to our study.<sup>88</sup> A recently published Middle Assyrian letter from Tell Sabi Abyad, TSA T02-32, informs us of kings “from another land” (*ša māte šanitte*) who travelled to the Assyrian capital to pay respects to a deceased Assyrian king, probably Tukulti-Ninurta I, though this is not clearly stated.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, attestation no. 14, a document from Tell Taban, refers to Shalmaneser I and the crown prince Tukulti-Ninurta heading for Carchemish, the Hittite stronghold for governance in Syria at that time. Even though the document does not mention any specific purpose for this trip, it seems not unlikely that the Assyrian king and prince went to Carchemish for some diplomatic purpose, presumably in order to meet with the ruler of this city.<sup>90</sup>

The purposes of royal travels are, however, not always clear. We are not able to determine the precise function or goal of the royal travels in attestations nos. 3–6, 17–21, and 23–26.

It seems reasonable to suppose that a king’s journey might have caused unexpected trouble. So far, one such difficulty is attested in one document from Tell Ali: attestation no. 3 reports that the region of Ḫabriuri, in the eastern part of the Assyrian kingdom rebelled when Shalmaneser I was travelling in Ḫanigalbat, in the western part of the realm. One may conjecture that the events were connected, since the Assyrian scribe documented both incidents

84. See, for example, *RIMA* 2, A.O.99.2: 105–19 (Adad-nārārī II); *RIMA* 2, A.O.100.5: 41–126 (Tukulti-Ninurta II; for these see Kühne 1980: 44–70); *RIMA* 3, A.O.102.5: v 1–vi 5 (Shalmaneser III; see also Grayson 1982: 267). On this aspect, see also May 2012.

85. This verb is attested predominantly in G-stem perfect, *ittumuš* (3rd pers. sing.) or *attumuš* (1st pers. sing.).

86. See n. 20 above.

87. Weissert 1997: 349–50 with sources and literature corrected at n. 38.

88. E.g., EA 15–16; see Moran 1992: 37–41.

89. Wiggermann 2006: 94, n. 3 and hand copy on p. 212, fig. 141; see also Freydank 2009a: 149–55.

90. It is also possible that the Assyrian king and prince went to Carchemish for a military campaign. However the terminologies and the contents of the present document somewhat speak against it. Firstly, no reference to the existence of a military campaign against Carchemish (like the ones seen in attestations a–h. above, as for example *ana ḫurādi alāku*) is made in the document. Secondly, a daughter of Qibi-Aššur, the Grand Vizier, took part in this royal company. It is not very likely that a noblewoman would accompany a military campaign. Finally, the supply for the Assyrian army or members of the Assyrian military is also not mentioned in the document. See Shibata in press.

together. Perhaps the Assyrian opposition in Ḫabriuri might have been informed of the movements of the Assyrian king, making it possible for them to stage an insurrection at the point when the king was in the opposite part of the realm, although this is highly speculative.<sup>91</sup>

## 6. Conclusions

This article is a first attempt at a comprehensive study of the royal journey according to the Middle Assyrian documentation. The information principally derives from archival documentation, mainly from texts that mention such journeys directly. Due to the nature of these documents, which did not intend to illustrate or to directly report such royal journeys, we must admit that the information is generally insufficient. Thus, even if we know something about the logistics and the persons taking part in the royal journeys, we are insufficiently informed about the origins, development, and purpose of these travels.

From a linguistic point of view, the twenty-eight attestations collected for this article predictively mainly employ the verb of movement *alāku*, “to go.” Less well attested are the verbs *ebāru*, “to cross,” *elā’u*, “to go up,” *namāšu*, “to depart,” and *tuāru*, “to return.” Expressions using the substantives *gerru*, *ḫarrānu*, and *ḫūlu*, “road” are also attested. Only a few documents do not include these symptomatic expressions. Chronologically, the attestations predictably belong to the best-documented reigns of the Assyrian kings, that is, Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I, and Tiglath-pileser I.

Even though it is to be expected that royal journeys are to be distinguished from military campaigns and that this distinction is partially indicated by the terminology (for example, with the inclusion of term *ḫurādu*), short formulations often make it difficult to establish the nature and purpose of documented royal “progresses.” Other nouns, such as *gerru*, *ḫarrānu*, and *ḫūlu*, may also be used in both a military and nonmilitary contexts, which does not help to separate between types of travel. Only a couple of attestations show the king staying at a location.

91. As for the visit of Shalmaneser I to the Upper Habur region, which is documented in the receipt from Tell Ali, Bloch has proposed identifying this event with a campaign against Ḫanigalbat narrated in an inscription, *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1 (Bloch 2008: 153–54). This is a good occasion in which to evaluate his hypothesis. His argument is based, on one hand, on the fact that one exemplar of the inscription, *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1, ex. 5, was written down on the very same day as that of the document from Tell Ali, the 26th of the month Ša-sarrāte, eponymate of Aššur-nādin-šumē. On the other hand, the receipt from Tell Ali refers to the revolt in the hilly region of Ḫabriuri located northeast of Arbail, which, according to Bloch’s interpretation, was raised because “the main fighting force of the Assyrian army was away from homeland, which would give the initiators of the rebellion [in Ḫabriuri] a chance of success.” (Bloch 2008: 154)

Considering the military tactics of those who revolted in Ḫabriuri, Bloch’s interpretation might appear possible. His interpretation has, however, serious difficulty, i.e., the date, actually one of his arguments. The reference to Shalmaneser I’s visit to Ḫanigalbat and the revolt in Ḫabriuri in the Tell Ali-receipt was not noted purely because of the timing, but was rather given as the reason for why a comparatively large amount of wool was handed over to a scribe, not to the usual officials, as suggested by Ismail and Postgate (2008: 170). In other words, the transaction recorded in the receipt was somehow related to the revolt in Ḫabriuri that happened when Shalmaneser I was far abroad, and the receipt was most probably issued during this state of emergency. It is also noteworthy that the distance between the capital city of Assur and Atmannu is merely ca. 40 km (as the crow flies) and a courier riding a horse, who might have brought the news of this emergency, could travel this distance within one or two days. Therefore, it is most likely that Shalmaneser I was still away in his royal progress (probably somewhere in the Upper Habur region), at that time when the document was made, that is, the day when the exemplar 5 of the inscription *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1 was written down. If the hypothesis of Bloch would be correct, the inscription *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1 must have been *composed* at the latest on the date of the ex. 5 or, more likely, before that date. It is unlikely that a long and detailed inscription commemorating a royal campaign was *composed* in the middle of this very campaign.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that, among the five exemplars of the inscription *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1 that preserve date formulae, only one exemplar (ex. 5) is dated to the eponym Aššur-nādin-šumē, while the other four exemplars (exs. 1, 3, 6, and 8) are dated to Mušallim-Aššur. On the assumption that the exemplars of this lengthy inscription were written just after the narrated campaign took place, it is even likelier that the campaign was concluded in the eponymate of Mušallim-Aššur or just before it, which precedes the eponymate of Aššur-nādin-šumē, although we must be cautious that such an assumption itself is also highly speculative. Regardless, it is probable that the progress of Shalmaneser I to Ḫanigalbat noted in the Tell Ali-receipt and his campaign against Ḫanigalbat narrated in his inscription *RIMA* 1, A.0.77.1 were two different events.

Assyrian kings usually travelled accompanied by family members such as mothers, queens, concubines, sons, and daughters and by their entourage consisting of, among others, women who served the queen and royal concubines, courtiers, eunuchs/officials, and cooks. Guards also accompanied the king and royal retinue to provide protection. Depending on the nature of the travel, other servants, such as perfume makers or singers, could be brought along as well.

Women travelling with the king used carriages for the journey. The king most likely travelled by carriage or chariot, though this detail is not explicitly mentioned. The royal retinue advanced slowly, covering at most 16.5 km per day. The provincial or local governments were in charge of supplying food for these journeys and were apparently obliged to arrange banquets welcoming the royal company in a proper manner with large quantities of foodstuffs such as bread, meat, and probably vegetables and beer.

The royal journeys had various aims and consequences. In some cases, they clearly had a cultic purpose, such as participation in local ceremonies. It is also likely that the royal journeys established and strengthened Assyrian governance of its territories, even if the cultic and political goals cannot be separated. It may have well been that some of these travels were triumphal tours similar to those that are well documented for the Neo-Assyrian period. The possible existence of Middle Assyrian royal triumphal tours might be supported by a letter from Dūr-Katlimmu, which refers to a journey wherein the Assyrian king was accompanied by a captive Babylonian ruler. In addition, such journeys could have had diplomatic purposes, such as travel to a foreign country to meet its ruler, though these rarely attested and, thus, presumably unusual.

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